AURANGZEB

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

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PREFACE.

Some of the chapters of this book were written in England nearly two decades ago. The thesis was left unfinished as I could not find enough leisure to carry on the work of historical research. When, however, I undertook the task of completing the book, I encountered difficulties which can best be appreciated by workers in the same field. Circumstances placed me in a small provincial town of Oudh where facilities for research can hardly be expected. At considerable expense I had to get transcripts not only of manuscripts, but also of printed works, as Public Libraries were not willing to part with 'reference' books. I must, however, acknowledge the help that I have received from the Coronation and Lyall Library at Bahraich.

It took me several years to revise and enlarge the original thesis. This book was not sent to the press in a complete form, but in parts as they became ready. Had it not been for the facilities offered to me by an indulgent press I should never have completed the book. My sincere thanks are due to the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow.

The reader will, perhaps, find many defects in the book. The only apology that I have to offer is that I have been working without any expert guidance. Barring Professor Muhammad Habib of the Muslim University, Aligarh, who revised the proofs of the first two chapters, and to whom I tender my thanks, I have not received appreciable help from any one acquainted with the subject.

I must express my feeling of gratefulness to my brother, Muhammad Zamir-ud-din of the U. P. Judicial Service, but for whose encouragement and help in various ways this book would not have seen the light of day.

BAHRAICH (OUDH),
12th July, 1935.

ZAHIRUDDIN FARUKI.

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INTRODUCTION.

Aurangzeb's reign is an important period of Indian history. His coming to power, his treatment of the Hindus, his conquest of the Deccan, his fight with the Rajputs, his quarrel with the Sikhs, and his campaign against the Marathas have been incidents of far-reaching consequences. If the historian takes these events and confines his survey to the latter half of the sixteenth century only, paying but little attention to the movements and tendencies of the preceding periods, his conclusions are bound to suffer. For the sake of a right perspective, events have to be traced to their very origin, causes analysed, and their diverse effects studied in a historical sequence. Sometimes there are forces at work, the ramifications of which are not clearly discernable and which do not disclose their full growth and strength until after sometime has elapsed. The result is, that, when these influences manifest themselves in a violent form, people lose sight of decisive factors, the real issue gets involved, and responsibilities are wrongly placed. Aurangzeb's reign is a case in point. In dealing with this period, the spirit of the times and the prejudices of the people have hitherto been completely ignored. It has not been realised to any appreciable extent that Aurangzeb was the product of his time and environment.

The war of succession has usually been viewed mainly from a moral standpoint. No attempt has been made to apprehend the perilous position of the Mughal princes, and the religious factor involved in the struggle has been completely overlooked. These points have been dealt with at some length in this thesis.

Aurangzeb's dealings with the Hindus have, up till now, been noticed in a somewhat detached manner. No complete

list of officials and nobles of previous reigns has been compiled, nor any endeavour made to discover the principles underlying the discriminative regulations. For instance, it is not generally known that no Hindu rose to a higher rank than that of "5000" in Shahjahan's time, in contrast to facts during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb. It is equally unknown that no Afghan was ever given the charge of any important fort in Aurangzeb's reign. Temples were destroyed both by Jahangir and Shahjahan, and yet they were no bigots. They cherished sincere good will and sympathy towards the Hindus. What were the reasons, then, that prompted the demolition of the temples?

Taking Aurangzeb's treatment of the Hindus, an investigation of the evidence shows that the imposition of the Jizyah was not a tax on heresy; that, barring those which were pulled down as a consequence of a rising, only new temples, the construction of which was forbidden by the law then prevailing, and which had been erected inspite of the knowledge of the restrictions, were destroyed; that the Hindus were not turned out of employment, and that he never attempted to convert them by force.

The campaign in Rajputana consequent upon the flight of the infant sons of Maharaja Jaswant Singh was precipitated by the rash and hasty acts of the Rajputs who, it will be found, had given enough cause of annoyance to Aurangzeb.

The transactions of the Mughal emperors, from Akbar downwards, with the Deccan States, have been briefly surveyed in order to follow Aurangzeb's attitude towards them. The invasion of Bijapur by Aurangzeb under Shahjahan's order has been severely commented upon by historians. A careful search of pertinent documents establishes the fact, that, long before Aurangzeb, in the reign of Jahangir, the Sultan had accepted the Mughal's suzerainty and was paying an yearly tribute.

The Sikhs and the Marathas occupy a few chapters of this thesis. A study of their early history proves that Aurangzeb was not directly responsible for the rise of the two communities. Events shaped themselves in such a way that these people were bound to achieve strength and vigour.

The general administrative system of the Mughals and the salient features of provincial administration have been briefly described. Enough space has been devoted to social and economic conditions of the period with special reference to the system of the land-tenure.

It is a curious fact, that, while Aurangzeb had been condemned for some of his actions, his predecessors have been spared criticism under similar circumstances. The historians have been severe to the former, while they have been unduly generous towards the latter. What have been the causes of this discrimination in historical treatment ?

After Aurangzeb's death, his successors, engaged in quarrels for succession, failed to keep the empire intact. After a time two new powers, the Sikhs and the Marathas began to struggle for the possession of the floating wreckage of the Mughal Kingdom, and each of them traced their rise to the bigotry of Aurangzeb. When historians began to chronicle the history of events they based their judgments on inadequate sources, and some of them could not help repeating historical heresies propagated by those who held very strong feelings against Alamgir. As a consequence, the diagnosis and treatment of the causes that brought about the disruption of the Mughal empire suffered both in accuracy and generosity.

Some of the Persian authors too were not free from a certain bias. For instance, Khafi Khan's account of Aurang zeb's promise to give the throne to Murad is wholly untrue.

While the author recapitulates the causes that brought about the conquest of Bijapur and Golkunda on the ground of their secret league with the Marathas, he cannot help an innuendo that Aurangzeb conquered the two States because their sultans were Shias. The reader will find that the final collapse was not due to any sectarian prejudice.

An important point in connection with the history of India, namely, the exact status of the Musalmans in the country, has not been fully grasped. Are they to be treated as foreigners or as people domiciled in the country. The Muslims did come first as invaders but India became, in the course of time, the home of the Musalmans as much as that of the Hindus. The Muslims conquered Hindustan and settled there as the Normans did in England. The Musalmans accepted Hindu customs, while the Hindus adopted Muslim manners. One Muslim prince freely sought alliance with a Hindu Raja against another Muslim. Rebellion was as frequent among the Hindus as among the Musalmans The Central Government spared neither the one nor the other In considering, therefore, the wars between the Hindu Rajas and the Mughal Emperors one should keep in view the actualities of the circumstances. Whether the risings of the Rajputs and the Marathas could be justified simply on the ground of the "foreign" character of the Mughal rule is an important question. The author of the *Rajasthan* has eulogised the treacherous conduct of Raja Jaswant Singh on the above presumption. Many have looked at similar incidents of Indian history from the same angle of vision.

If words of criticism have been used with reference to Sivaji's initial movement, it is because his activities could not otherwise be justly characterised. If he is hailed as a hero, there is no reason to grudge him the appellation, as he has been responsible for the making of the Marathas. His vigorous qualities, his dash and pluck, are sufficient to thrill

any people, and the Marathas can well take pride in his exploits .If it is a fact that Sivaji understood Aurangzeb, it is no less true that Aurangzeb had also taken the measure of Sivaji. The comparison of the two characters is a study in itself. We see, as it were, the moves and counter-moves of two expert chess-players and, far removed as we are to-day from those stirring times, it is impossible not to admire the acuteness of their minds. Fresh historical materials are daily coming to hand, and in the light of research, it may be hoped, a truer sense of proportion shall come to prevail as regard the actors in the drama of that age and a juster estimate made of their varied activities.

The sources of this book are indicated in the Bibliography. I have attempted to use as far as I could every material, both printed and manuscript, available in Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, and English.

The arrangement of different chapters is not based on any chronological order. The attempt has not been to write a connected history of Aurangzeb, as it has been already written by an eminent authority, but to review the main incidents of his reign, to envisage every situation from a broader point of view than has hitherto been done, and to give correct interpretation to the tendencies of the times.

As controversies centre round many incidents of the period under review, I have deliberately given extensive quotations from contemporary authors, as the narration of important events in their own language rather than in an epitome tends to preserve historic fidelity.

The number of Aurangzeb's critics is legion. It is open to every investigator of truth to expose the weaknesses of and point the finger of scorn at any historical personage. But a critic who condemns Aurangzeb not only on the basis of his own misdeeds, but also on account of his profession of Islam "whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as

a religious duty" and which "is incompatible with the peace of the world," and in which "toleration is illegal" betrays an attitude of mind which is extremely uncharitable. Not less uncharitable is the view that the Mughal rule was a "thinly-veiled brigandage."*

In a nation's history there are multitudinous strata which merit exploitation, but to understand the position of that nation in the world's history no one strata can be considered apart from the others. History must be approached without any dominating passion and should not be used as a propaganda even in the best of causes. "If wrongly studied, it may end in filling the streets with blood and the countryside with trenches and bursting shells. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was ascribed by some to the writings of Theirs and the greater catasrophe of our own era to those of Treitschke. There was probably an element of truth in these charges." "Men talk of verdict of history" says Dr. Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History, whom we have quoted above, "But on most points of real interest that verdict is not unanimous and is constantly being reversed. The verdict of history is one thing in France, another in Germany, one thing in England of 1840, another in 1890, yet a third thing to-day. Action and reaction is as much the method of historical as of political progress."

In presenting this book I do not for a moment claim that my conclusions are infallible. The following pages will indicate that there can be different points of view concerning Aurangzeb and his doings. In the words of Professor Bury, I have only attempted to add one spadeful of knowledge to the ever-growing mountain of historical material. It will be conceded, I hope, that rival contributions, however modest, on any historical subject are helpful in appraising the truth.

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* See *History of Aurangzeb* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

The period of history covered by this book is full of controversial facts, and any student who wants to throw a fresh light on them has to face enormous difficulties. Historical conclusions, based on misleading premises and inadequate data, have tended to stereotype popular judgment, and any attempt to present a different view has the disadvantage of being prejudged from an antiquated standpoint. This attitude must be avoided, if we are to have a right perspective. Many historical judgments have been reversed in the light of research, and in the case of Aurangzeb, it is hoped, a dispassionate view will ultimately be taken of his varied activities.

ZAHIRUDDIN FARUKI.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Abdul Hamid ... *Badshah-Nama.*
Adab ... *Adab-i-Alamgiri.*
Ain ... *Ain-i-Akbari.*
A. N. ... *Alamgir-Nama.*
Anecdotes ... *Ancedotes of Aurangzeb.*
Aqil ... *Waqiat i-Alamgiri.*
Basatin ... *Basatin-i-Salatin.*
Chitnis ... *Shiva-Chhatrapati-Chen Sapta-prakaran-atmak Charitra.*
Dabistan ... *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib.*
F. Q. ... *Faiyaz-ul-Qawanin.*
Firishta ... *Tarikh-i-Firishta.*
Futuhat ... *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri.*
Khafi; K. K. ... *Muntakhab-ul-lubab.*
K. T. ... *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh.*
Letters ... *Letters of Aurangzeb.*
M. A. ... *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.*
M. U. ... *Ma'asir-ul-Umra.*
Sabhsad ... *Life and Exploits of Shivaji.*
T. H. ... *Tarikh-i-Hind.*
Waris ... *Badshahnama.*

PRELUDE.

As Jahangir was returning from the Deccan to Agra after defeating Malik Ambar, when at Dohad in the night of 15th Zuqada, 1027, A. H.=24th October, 1618, A. D. a son was born to Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shahjahan. According to family custom, the Prince presented one thousand gold coins to the Emperor, who ordered the infant to be named Aurangzeb. A few days later, the Imperial Camp reached Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, where celebrations were held in honour of the youngest Prince. Talib Kalim and other Court poets recited poems, and the chronogram, Gauhar-i-taj muluk Aurangzeb, (Aurangzeb—a pearl in the Emperor's Crown) indicates the year of birth.

Driven into rebellion by Nur Jahan's fretful tyranny, Shahjahan wandered as a fugitive in Bengal, Orisa and the Deccan with his children and his courageous consort for full four years. But he submitted in the end. Jahangir demanded Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages. These two reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in June, 1626. Jahangir, however, died in October 1627, and the young princes were escorted by Asaf Khan to Agra where they were lovingly embraced by their anxious mother.

Shahjahan is now the ruler of India. Young Aurangzeb is placed under tutors to receive his education. His teachers were profoundly learned and brilliant men of their

day. They gave their best to the precocious boy who learned his lessons with surprising eagerness.

On the morning of the 28th May, 1633, Shahjahan was watching the contest of two huge elephants at Agra when one of them dashed towards the place where Aurangzeb was standing. People ran away in utter confusion, but the young Prince stood his ground. Without the least perturbation and with majestic calmness he flung his spear at the elephant's head. The raging animal felled Aurangzeb's horse but the Prince was on his feet in a moment, drew his sword, and faced the brute. At this stage, however, people ran up to his succour, and the elephant left the field. The Prince was saved, but he let the world see the metal he was made of.

Soon after this momentous incident the Prince begins his career. After seeing service in as wide regions as Bundelkhand, Balakh, Guzerat, Sindh, Multan, and Qandhar, he is sent back to the Deccan for the second time.

While he was conducting operations against Bijapur, news came of the illness of Shahjahan in September, 1657. Then the clouds darkened. The boy who had singly faced a ferocious elephant is now a man of mature years; he again draws his sword and faces a furious brother and the might of an empire.

AURANGZEB AND HIS TIMES

CHAPTER I.

WAR OF SUCCESSION.

There have been many wars of succession in the chequered history of the Muslim world. The frequency of dynastic turmoils is associated with the structure of society, the Islamic system of inheritance, and the texture of polity which developed during the first few centuries of the Muslim era. Islam and the Qur'an created a new social order and enunciated new principles for political organisation. Though the origins of the Islamic State grew out of the facts of action in the life-time of the Prophet, material was lacking for the complete design of political norms. Immediately after the death of the Prophet began the constitutional struggle which created a permanent division of loyalties among the Muslims. A

section of the Arabs held that the state could not be the patrimony of any individual. It belonged to the people, who alone had the right to elect the fittest man among themselves as the head of the Government. This view was vigorously challenged; nevertheless the Muslim Republic, which is rightly cherished as representing the golden age of Islam, was established. By their self-discipline, severe piety, and stern impartiality, the first two Khalifs created administrative traditions of the highest order which not only enhanced the prestige of Islam but also consolidated the position of the Qureysh to which clan they belonged. The abuse of power, however, by the agents and relations of the third Khalif precipitated the revolt of the non-Qureysh element. The miasma of inter-tribal feud could not be dispelled by irresolute actions, with the result that the republic was wrecked for ever, and the Umayyids later on succeeded in establishing a monarchy which was not based on the will of the people. But even after the establishment of the Umayyid monarchy, the problem of succession remained unsolved. At first, direct nomination by the reigning sovereign was resorted to, but since the title to the throne did not rest on tradition or suffrage, to fortify it against future encroachment and make it legally binding, formal public acknowledgment by the people was deemed necessary. But later on, even the hollow formality was dispensed with, and succession became hereditary without any settled rule. The Abbasids and others who came after them followed the path opened by the Umayyids.

No accepted rule of succession.

In a system of inheritance which made no discriminations in the relative positions of the eldest and the youngest sons, every one was free to assert his rights. Though the personal law has no application in the matter of succession to the state, heirs of deceased sovereigns often based their claim on it.

The extent to which even the youngest prince of royal blood felt concerned at the preference shewn to his eldest brother is revealed in a letter written to Aurangzeb by his rebellious, son Akbar. "I beg to say," writes the refractory prince, "that the preference and advancement of the youngest son by a father is always the rule. Your Majesty, has, against the general usage, conferred the title of Shah on the eldest prince (*i. e.*, Dara Shukoh) and nominated him your successor. This act is repugnant to equity and justice. In the property of the father the right of all the sons is uniform. To raise one and degrade the other is dictated neither by religious nor by civil law."*

Succession among the Turks.

Among the Muslim sovereigns, the Ottoman Sultans had the singular fortune of retaining the throne in their family for so many centuries. But they were guided by well-defined rules; the succession, however, did not fall to any issue of the deceased Sultan, but to the eldest surviving member of the royal family. Thus the inherent right of the first born son to the royal purple has no sanctity according to Islamic law.

No religious law.

Though the best traditions of Islam pointed towards a republican form of government, no religious obligations were involved where the inheritance of a State was in dispute. Ultimately, the question of succession became one of force, secret machinations, and artful plottings, each party vigorously preparing itself for the coming struggle. The masses, having no religious preference in the matter, were free to take sides according to their advantage and exigencies of the moment. This fact gave free scope to individual ambitions and to those disastrous pretensions which became the fruitful cause of dynastic wars in the Islamic world.

Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri, f. 79.

In the history of Muslim kingdoms, succession to the throne has been generally preceded by military contests, and India was no exception to the rule.

The Mughals in India.

The battle of Panipat in 1526 decided the fate of Hindustan, and supremacy passed from the hands of the Afghans to the Mughals. Babar was the founder of the ruling dynasty, but he did not live very long. He was succeeded by his son Humayun, who after a time was turned out by the Afghans and obliged to seek refuge in Persia. Any one else in the same circumstances would have probably given up every hope of tiding over the difficulties that beset his path, but Humayun was a man of uncommon nerve and did not allow his courage to fail. By his unflinching resolution and dogged perseverance, after many vicissitudes of fortune, he at last recovered his throne.

Kamran blinded by Humayun.

The customs of the time are illustrated by the fact that Kamran who had rebelled against his victorious brother Humayun, was blinded by royal order so as to render him incapable of succession to the throne Kamran was allowed to proceed to Mecca. where he died. "His family was not molested by Humayun, but his only son, a possible pretender to the throne, was privately executed at Gwalior in 1565, at the time of Uzbeg rebellion, by order of Akbar, who thus set an evil example, imitated on a large scale by his descendants."*

His son executed by Akbar.

Prince Salim, afterwards known as Jahangir, was the favourite son of Akbar. During the lifetime of his father, he rebelled and attempted to oust the Emperor and plant himself on the throne, but he was foiled by the diplomatic manœuvre of his father, and a reconciliation followed.

**Akbar, The Great Mughul*, V. R. Smith, p. 28.

Jahangir was married to a Hindu princess and had a son named Khusrau. Some of the Hindu Rajas, just before the death of Akbar, were secretly working to put Khusrau on the throne, when Jahangir, his father, had the obvious claim to the succession. The conspiracy failed, but Jahangir afterwards always kept his son in confinement for no other reason than the security of the State. The precedent that was set up by Jahangir in rebelling against his father became from this time a family tradition, as it were, of the house of Babar. Khurram, afterwards Shahjahan, ranged himself against Jahangir for a while, fought and almost held the Emperor as a prisoner. And when Shahjahan came to power—Shahjahan, the builder of the famous Taj, Shahjahan, the lover of arts—he put to death his brothers Dawar Bakhsh and Sharyar, and his nephews, Tahmures and Hoshung, for no better reason than their being possible claimants to the throne.

Shahjahan puts his brothers and nephews to death.

Aurangzeb, the third son of Shahjahan, followed the example of his predecessors, but with an important difference. While the activities of his father and grandfather were nipped in the bud, his efforts were crowned with remarkable success. It was Dara who first took the field in spite of Shahjahan's protest. Aurangzeb did fight his elder brother for the throne but he was at the same time fighting for his very life. The common characteristic of the Mughal Emperors, however, in the matter of succession, must be kept in view when considering Aurangzeb's attitude.

Aurangzeb.

It is necessary to keep in mind the relation between Aurangzeb and Shahjahan on the one hand, and Aurangzeb and Dara on the other. From his early childhood, Aurangzeb displayed a keenness of intellect and a discerning

Aurangzeb's character.

sagacity that gave promise of a distinguished career. He had a cool and calm temperament and a deliberate, yet daring, mind. In moments of danger he always stood firm like a rock. He had the marvellous gift of availing himself of those psychological moments, when right things rightly done bring about decisive results. He had seen active service in many fields and fought many a battle. Obliging, prudent in action, and modest in bearing, he had scores of admirers at the Imperial Court. Shahjahan knew his merits but his love for Dara was above all. Aurangzeb was so often reprimanded that he began to doubt the affection of his father.

Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan lasted from 1636 to 1644 when he went to Agra, where some three weeks after his arrival he was dismissed from his post. "His Majesty, for the sake of his (Aurangzeb's) punishment, removed him from the government of the Deccan and changed his Mansab and Jagir." * At the request of Jahanara Begum, Aurangzeb was, however, restored to his former rank, and was sent to Guzerat as Governor, 1645—1647. In 1647 he was sent to Balkh to conduct operations in Central Asia, and on the retreat of the Mughal army back to India, he was appointed Governor of Multan and Sindh in 1648.

Shahjahan's enquiries.

To revise maritime trade, Aurangzeb opened a new port at the mouth of the Indus and sent his own small ship for use. But the intriguers at Court told Shahjahan that Aurangzeb was amassing a fortune and keeping all the income to himself. On enquiry from the Emperor, Aurangzeb wrote in a letter, "The income of a port depends on two things, freight and merchandise. The one-decked ship that

* *Padshahnama*, Vol. II, p. 376.

belonged to me at Surat was brought here, but it did not sail out on a single voyage, and the royal boat is still incomplete. As this place has not yet attracted mariners and neighbouring traders, how can I give the truth about the income." (*Adab.*)

Financial difficulties.

Aurangzeb found himself in financial difficulties when he was at Multan, on account of floods and bad harvest. He begged for financial aid from the Emperor who tauntingly asked him, "why did he not pay gold Mohars to his troops?" Shahjahan's severity is indicated in Aurangzeb's letter sent to Jahanara.

"I gather from your letter that His Majesty was pleased to say that whatever he wanted to give me has been already given, and that he was not responsible if I kept nothing. His Majesty has also ordered Umdatul-Mulk to place before him the list of rewards granted to me from the beginning of His Majesty's accession to the throne. My kind friend, the rewards and grants offered to me are beyond estimation. I am not fond of purchasing jewels like other princes, and whatever I received I spent it to keep the army efficient. As ordered by His Majesty, I have been keeping a contingent of 5,000 cavalry since the siege of Qandhar. All my financial troubles are due to the fact that before this I used to receive ten months' pay in cash, while the Jagir now allotted to me yields an income which is not equal to even seven months' pay...............As to the remarks, why don't I pay gold Mohars to the troops, let me submit that I have not enough gold which, after paying off my debts, can suffice even for one month's pay of my men. In spite of this, I have paid to the army whatever I could afford, but it is extremely hard for me to live like this." (*Adab.*)

Siege of Qandhar.

Shah Abbas II, King of Persia, laid siege to Qandhar in December 1648, and after two months, the fort was surrendered. Shahjahan sent Sadullah Khan and Aurangzeb to Qandhar, and himself went to Kabul to direct operations from the rear. But owing to the lack of big siege guns and sufficient artillery, every attempt to retake the fort proved futile, and the Mughal army returned to India.

Aurangzeb remained at Multan till the beginning of 1652, when he was again sent to Qandhar. But the Emperor did not allow him any discretion in the conduct of the operations. He had to obey the orders of Shahjahan who remained at Kabul and directed every movement of the besieging army from a distance. Though Aurangzeb was only second in command, yet he was held responsible for not reducing the fort.

When Shahjahan taunted him, saying "it was a great wonder that in spite of such vast resources he could not take the fort," Aurangzeb wrote to him, "God is my witness that I left nothing undone, and I did all that was in my power."

Aurangzeb prayed for permission to make yet another attempt to take the fort but Shahjahan not only refused to grant his request, but reducing his Jagir, sent him away to the Deccan, and appointed Dara to conduct operations at Qandhar. Aurangzeb writes, "I wonder what has been the reason for not only changing my Jagir but reducing it by 17 lacs. If owing to Your Majesty's unbounded kindness, it is the royal command that I should be put in charge of a big province, I should not be made to feel small before the people and the nobles of the Deccan............At the time of the first siege of Qandhar, I had requested Your Majesty to give the command to brother Dara and place me under him, but my petition was not accepted. Now since he has

been put in charge of the expedition, I pray to be allowed to remain in the district, so that through God's help I may be able to secure the good-will and favour of Your Majesty.'

Shahjahan, however, was so disgusted with Aurangzeb that he wrote to him, "Wise men have said, "it is useless to again try a person who has been tried once." Aurangzeb respectfully submitted the reasons for not reducing the fort of Qandhar and hinted at his subordinate position during the siege. In reply to Shahjahan's sarcastic comment, he wrote, "I have no remedy but to admit my fault. If other princes with all the vast preparations, succeed in their efforts, then the fault of this servant will become known to you. I hope that Your Majesty's wish will be soon directed towards the trial of the untried ones." (*Adab.*) We see in Shahjahan's attitude the hidden hand of Dara, but Aurangzeb had not long to wait to get his revenge. Dara with a huge army and many big guns marched to Qandhar, but had to give up the siege after about six months, and returned to India crest fallen.

Aurangzeb's retort.

It is surprising to find a streak of sarcasm running through almost every letter of Shahjahan sent to Aurangzeb after the siege of Qandhar. In the letter in which he quoted the saying of wise men he expressed the hope that Aurangzeb will at least succeed in bringing prosperity to the Deccan. It was a remark tauntingly made. Aurangzeb wrote that though he was not equal to other princes in administering a big province, but his efforts to increase cultivation in the Deccan and ameliorate the condition of the people during his first viceroyalty must have reached His Majesty. If he were allowed to stay for some

Shahjahan's sarcasm.

time, he said, he would be able to show the result of his administration.

When Aurangzeb was ordered to raise the siege of Qandhar, he was asked to proceed straight to the Deccan, without returning to Multan where he had left his family. Nothing was more galling to Aurangzeb than the exhibition of Shahjahan's resentment in not allowing him to return to his old province. He was asked to send men to Multan to bring the members of his family to Lahore where he should join them. With reference to Shahjahan's order, he wrote to his sister Jahanara only declaring his readiness to obey the commands of the Emperor. (*Adab*, 244-a.)

After leaving Qandhar, Aurangzeb paid his respects to the Emperor on 12th Ramzan 1062 A. H. (7th August 1652 A. D), and was sent on his long journey only ten days afterwards. There was no particular necessity to rush him to the Deccan, yet unmindful of the month of Ramzan, Shahjahan sent him away. As soon as he began his march the Emperor rated him for moving too slowly. Aurangzeb pleaded that owing to rains, it was difficult to throw a bridge of boats across the Indus and the Chambal and the ground was so soft that the elephants could hardly move even a few furlongs. If the rains could stop even for a few days, he wrote, he would be able to cross the Chambal. But the Emperor told him that he was delaying his march. In several letters Shahjahan taxed him for the inordinate delay in reaching his destination and pressed him to go by the shortest route.

Aurangzeb writes in a letter, "This loyal servant has always tried to discharge the duties entrusted to him with promptness...............and is not acquainted with slow movement." However, he reached Agra on the 24th of November 1652.

Shuja and Aurangzeb.

During the second siege of Qandhar, the Emperor had ordered Prince Shuja also to proceed to Kabul and join Aurangzeb at Qandhar. Consequently Shuja started from Bengal and was hastening towards the seat of war. In the meantime, Dara somehow grew suspicious and did not relish the idea of Aurangzeb and Shuja meeting together. On hearing, therefore, that Shuja was taken ill, Dara pursuaded Shahjahan to write to Shuja to return to Bengal. But Shuja did not turn back. At this time on the instigation of Dara, Shahjahan wrote to Aurangzeb, "By your good treatment of Shuja, you keep him agreeable to you, and leave nothing undone to please him."[1] There was no occasion for Shahjahan to write to Aurangzeb in the terms that he did, nor was the fact of growing intimacy between Aurangzeb and Shuja a matter of adverse and sarcastic comment. Perhaps Dara wanted to create dissension between the two brothers by openly stressing the fact of intimacy. Aurangzeb however, wrote back: "Whatever one does, does for himself."

When Shuja was approaching Kabul, Aurangzeb wrote to Shahjahan, "Your Majesty has written that in spite of the fact that *farmans* were sent to my elder brother (Shuja) to return to Bengal, as owing to his illness, he would not be able to reach here in time, he is coming here by forced marches, and that as soon as he reaches Kabul he will be sent to Ghazni to join the victorious army. Your Majesty, whatever has been written about the Prince is true. We should be as firm in our loyalty and devotion as he is." (*Adab.*)

Shahjahan's remarks were meant to be sarcastic, but Aurangzeb cleverly turned the sarcasm.

Shuja reached Kabul on the 17th of April 1652, but he was not allowed to join Aurangzeb at Qandhar. After staying for about three months at Kabul, he was sent away to his province on the 21st of July, only a fortnight before Aurangzeb's arrival at Kabul. Dara's attempt not to let the two brothers meet had so far succeeded, but Shuja stayed at Agra, and Aurangzeb saw him on the 24th of November. The meeting of the two brothers sealed the fate of Dara.

Pact between Aurangzeb and Shuja.

It was at Agra that Aurangzeb and Shuja entered into a pact. Dara's intrigues and Shahjahan's attitude forced them to a concerted and joint action. The meeting of the two brothers is thus described by Aqil Khan, "Prince Aurangzeb while staying for six days at Agra, spent three days at the palace of Shah Shuja. Strengthening the bonds of unity and friendship, and removing all suspicions and doubts from their minds, they (*i. e.*. Auranzeb and Shuja) disclosed their secrets to each other and agreed that the eldest brother (*i. e.* Dara) was thirsting for their blood, and they were safe only as long as the Emperor was alive. They argued that on the very day that the reigns of government passed into the hands of Dara, they should despair of their lives; under the circumstances, it was, therefore, imperative that all the three brothers should unite and put an end to his mischief. Entering into a solemn pact and covenant on oath, Prince Aurangzeb started for his province and Prince Shuja went to Bengal." The above fact is corroborated by the author of *Alamgirnama*, who says that as Aurangzeb had from early days a great affection for Shuja, both the brothers entered into a pact of friendship.

Aurangzeb afterwards left for the Deccan and met Murad at Doraha. It seems that Murad also was made

a party to the pact concluded with Shuja. The fact of the triple alliance is indicated by the letters of Murad preserved in *Faiyazul-Qawanin.* He writes in a letter to Aurangzeb, "One of the conditions of our pact was that if the infidel (*i. e.*, Dara) attacked one brother, others should help him." In another letter he says, "It is a matter of thankfulness that brother Shuja is true to the pact."

Murad had written to Jahanara Begam about his meeting with Aurangzeb, and concluded his letter, dated 15th *Rabi-ul-awal* 1063 A. H. thus: "I have become acquainted with the sincerity of brother Aurangzeb. I hope that our friendship will grow stronger every day." He writes to Shuja, "I am true to what has been agreed upon, and am waiting for your instructions. I do not know if your line of action will conform to our agreement or you have a different plan."

That Murad, Shuja and Aurangzeb formed a triple alliance as early as November 1652 cannot be doubted, but what were the terms of the alliance and what share was allotted to each is nowhere indicated in the letters. It is, however, clear that all the three brothers agreed not to take any action without mutual consultation, and that if any of them was attacked by Dara, the other two were to rush to his help. I think that beyond a general agreement no specific terms were settled in 1652.

There is no clear indication of the fact, but it is probable that both Shahjahan and Dara suspected and looked with grave concern at the growing intimacy between the three brothers. The attitude of Dara and Shahjahan *vis-a-vis* Aurangzeb during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan can only be explained on the assumption indicated above.

Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur on the 15th *Rabi-ul-awal* 1063 Hijra (3rd February 1653 A. D.).

Zainabadi Mahal.

While on a visit to his aunt at Burhanpur, he saw a slave-girl named Hira Bai, and fell in love with her at first sight. When Aurangzeb took her as his wife, some scandalous tale was told at Shahjahan's Court, and the Emperor asked for his explanation. The royal epistle must have been severe in its tone as is evident from Aurangzeb's reply.

"Your Majesty ! my faults are beyond counting and as I repeatedly submitted, I hope that through Your Majesty's guidance, I will be able to correct myself. However, it is a matter of thankfulness, that in spite of all my faults, I have not been guilty of doing anything against Your Majesty's wishes. I harbour no thought of mischief against anybody. Whatever Your Majesty has heard about the matter (referring to Zainabadi) is absolutely untrue. The truth must have been communicated to Your Majesty by my Agent at Court.........As God, our Creator, does not punish us unless we commit a sin, I hope Your Majesty, who is the shadow of God, will not likewise only on the basis of rumour devoid of truth and without any fault and crime *charge your servants with accusations which is beyond their endurance.*"*

Mohammad Sultan's marriage.

We have noticed that while returning from Qandhar, Aurangzeb entered into a pact with Shuja. To further strengthen their mutual relations, it was agreed that Shuja's son, Zain-ud-din should be married to Aurangzeb's daughter while Mohammad Sultan was betrothed to Shuja's daughter. †

* M. U. I. 790; Ahkam, 8.

† Aqil, 7.

These matrimonial arrangements were kept secret, but Shahjahan, somehow suspecting them, made attempts to have the engagement broken. He wrote to Aurangzeb about Mohammad Sultan's marriage, but the former told him that his son had been already engaged to Shuja's daughter, and it would be improper to break the engagement. He expressed his helplessness in the matter, but if the Emperor wished to pursue some other plan he would send Mohammad Sultan to Court.* But Shahjahan insisted on the severance of the engagement and wrote to Aurangzeb, "I do whatever I think best for your good and that of your sons. There is yet time and I hope you will give your consent." "How can Your Majesty," replied Aurangzeb, "propose the marriage of my eldest son when Your Majesty knows all the circumstances. I will obey the commands of Your Majesty with respect to my other sons." †

Aurangzeb, however, remained true to his pact with Shuja with the consequence that Shahjahan in a fit of temper took away the fort of Asir from him. He complained to Jahanara that if the Emperor's resentment was due to his refusal to accept the proposal about his son's marriage then he was helpless. As his Majesty, he wrote, had allowed him absolute discretion, he frankly expressed his views.‡

It is abundantly clear from the correspondence that passed between Shahjahan and Aurangzeb that the former was anxious not for a suitable marriage of his grandson but for the severance of connection with Shuja. Shahjahan's attitude must have offended and strengthened the bond of unity and friendship between Aurangzeb and Shuja.

* Adab, 58.

† Adab, 46-*b*.

‡ Adab, 250-*a*.

Mangoes.

There was a mango tree named Badshah-pasand at Burhanpur, and the Emperor was very fond of its fruit. When Aurangzeb was in the Deccan, Shahjahan had asked him to regularly send the mangoes to him. Aurangzeb appointed men to look after the tree and promised to obey the royal order. When the season came, mangoes were sent to the Emperor, but he was not satisfied either with their quality or quantity, and suspected that Aurangzeb appropriated good mangoes for his own table. Aurangzeb protested that the mango crop was very bad, and Badshah-pasand yielded very few mangoes. But the Emperor's suspicion was not allayed and he showed his disgust in a manner extremely galling to Aurangzeb. He wrote to the latter that since he had not received mangoes in sufficient quantities, he would appoint his own men next year, and they would send mangoes directly to him. The charge of dishonesty was more than he could endure, yet Aurangzeb quietly bore all the indignities, and wrote to Shahjahan, "It is well if Your Majesty appoints your own men. During this season only three mangoes were brought to me to find out if the fruits were ripe enough to be sent to Your Majesty and the rest were directly despatched to you from Burhanpur. I have already reported to you that only one branch of the tree (*i. e.* Badshah-pasand) bore fruit and the remaining ones fell down during a storm. How could I keep mangoes which Your Majesty is fond of for my own use.?" (*Adab.*)

Aurangzeb's disgust at his father's treatment.

In a moment of disgust Aurangzeb wrote to his sister Jahanara in 1654: " If His Majesty wishes, that of all his servants, I alone should spend my life in dishonour and die in obscurity, I cannot but obey. But as it is impossible to live such a life and die, and as I do not enjoy his favours, I cannot for transient and mundane things, live in pain and sorrow. It is better that by order of His Majesty, I

should be relieved from the disgust of such a life so that no harm may reach the state and other peoples' hearts (referring to Dara) may be set at rest. Ten years before this, I had realised this fact, and knowing my life to be threatened, had resigned my post so that I might cause no worry to other people."*

Quarrel over Jagir.

During the whole tenure of his second viceroyalty in the Deccan, Aurangzeb had to contend against a disapprobation on the part of Shahjahan, the persistency of which seems inexplicable. When he was transferred to the Deccan, he was allotted a *jagir* that yielded 17 lacs less than what he used to derive from his old fiefs. He asked his father to make up the deficit upon which he was told to exchange his *jagir* for those which yielded more income. And when he did so, the *jagirdars*, who lost their lands, complained to Shahjahan that Aurangzeb had picked out the best villages in each *mohal*, leaving to them only scattered possessions. Aurangzeb denied the charge and protested against His Majesty's believing in the accusation without asking for proof and without inquiring into the matter.†

Aurangzeb used to receive his pay partly in *jagir* and partly in cash. He requested Shahjahan that the cash should be delivered to him from the province of Malwa and the port of Surat, but the proposal was not accepted, and he was asked to select some *mohals* in the Deccan. He asked for Elichpur but Shahjahan rated its revenue far above the actual proceeds, whereupon Aurangzeb naturally asked for the cash payment as usual. But the Emperor, instead of acceding to this reasonable request, became displeased with Aurangzeb.‡

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* *Adab-i-Alamgiri, page 250-a.*

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri, page 33-b.*

‡ " " " *37-b.*

Aurangzeb is reprimanded.

With the approval of the Emperor, as already recorded, he had exchanged some of his sterile lands for more productive ones; but it was reported to Shahjahan that he was exacting from the *jagirdars* much more than his pay. This intrigue had its effect and Shahjahan wrote to Aurangzeb: "It is unworthy of a Musalman, and an unjust act, to choose for yourself all the best villages of a *parganah*, and to give to others only the less productive ones. I order you to take half-a-lac worth of less productive land in the *parganah* of Asir, and decrease your cash allowance by the same amount, so that your income may be made normal."

His protest.

Aurangzeb was rightly indignant when he wrote back: "I have never in my life acted unjustly but have always tried to please God and His Vice-regent on earth. The revenue officers of Your Majesty, before I came to the Deccan, transferred those districts from Shaista Khan to me at the same revenue. I wonder why they did not point out this fact to you. Your Majesty has, without making any enquiry or requiring my explanation, and on mere suspicious reports, passed orders. As they have convinced you that I am receiving more than my fixed stipend, and you have ordered half-a-lac of rupees to be deducted from my cash allowance, what need is there of giving me anything?*

In a letter to Jahanara Begum, he writes: "If it is the royal will that this servant should pass his life in obscurity, then Baglana alone is quite enough. But if His Majesty has given me such a big province, he should keep up my position so that I may not feel small in the eyes of the people and the rulers of the Deccan."†

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri, page 139-b.*

† „ „ *244-a.*

Wretched state of the Deccan.

The Deccan was always a drain on the exchequer because of the impoverished condition of the peasantry, and Shahjahan was naturally anxious to put a stop to such a state of affairs. Aurangzeb was sent with special instructions to improve the cultivation, but no one could set matters right and fill up the exhausted treasury in a day. The whole country was suffering from the consequences of continued mal-administration. Shahjahan, however, grew impatient and reprimanded him for being an utter failure and once even threatened to cut down his pay. Aurangzeb rightly protested that time and patience were necessary, that he had no magic wand by which he could, in a single day, bring about all the changes that were desirable. He was doing all, he said, that was in his power. and he wrote to Shahjahan to inform him that during three years he had been able to double the income of many *Mohals*. In one of his letters he writes to the Emperor: "I have always tried to increase cultivation, but as I am not a vain man, I did not report it to you. A country that has been ruined by many disasters cannot become flourishing in two or three years."*

In another place he writes: "Your Majesty, Though the administration of the districts belong to the *Divans* who do their best to develop cultivation, my humble efforts to increase the income of the territory in such a short time has remained unknown to your august self. As this servant was not given to vaunting, he did not like that the *Divans* should report the matter to you."† But Shahjahan would not listen to any argument and made unseemly remarks about Aurangzeb in open Court. He seems to have been so disgusted that he once asked

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 139-*b*.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 43-*a*.

Shuja if he would accept the governorship of the Deccan, as Aurangzeb was not fit to administer the province.

Aurangzeb's recommendation negatived.

Every governor or viceroy must have liberty of action and independent initiative. Matters must be left to him, especially the working of different departments of government and the control of subordinates, so that he may safely conduct the business of the State according to his own judgment. The recommendations of the man on the spot are, as a rule, always accepted as regards promotions and postings, but even here Aurangzeb had to contend against an absolutely inexplicable behaviour on the part of the Emperor. His nominations were often negatived, and he naturally smarted under a treatment that openly compromised his dignity as the governor of a large province. In a letter he writes to Shahjahan: "I have been a Subadar since the age of 18 and I have never recommended a single man who did not deserve his post. I recommended a person as the head of the artillery, but Your Majesty has conferred the post upon another man."

His men called to Court on higher pay.

On another occasion Aurangzeb complained to his sister that Shahjahan was taking away all his men from his service. He writes: "And the latest is the recall of Malik Husain to the Court, and the bestowal of rank upon him and his followers, who entered my service. Although he is a servant of His Majesty, and I have trained him for that purpose—yet once this path is opened and my men, leaving my service, go over to the Court with pay and *mansab* much higher than they are worth, surely no one will care to stay with me. If such is the royal wish, let an order be sent to me that I may send all my people to His Majesty so that my friends (Dara and others) may achieve their desire. I hope that you will convey all this to the Emperor in private and inform

me of his reply, so that I may ask for his pardon, if there is any fault on my part."*

During almost the whole period of his second viceroyalty we find that Aurangzeb is misunderstood, unjustly reprimanded and unnecessarily subjected to petty vexations. It is no wonder, therefore, that he refused to do anything on his own initiative.

Murshid Quli Khan, whose name is famous in the Deccan for his system of revenue assessment, once suggested to Aurangzeb that he should grant an advance of Rs. 50,000 as a loan to the peasants of Khandesh and Berar. The Prince put the matter before Shahjahan, who told him that he should have appropriated the money from the Imperial Treasury without referring it to him.

His caution.

Aurangzeb then wrote : "Knowing that I have been reprimanded for acts which I never did, I did not wish to take the responsibility in this matter. In my first viceroyalty I did not wait for previous consent in such cases. But now I have become careful."†

When peace was concluded with Qutub Shah, the Sultan presented Aurangzeb with some jewels and elephants. The intriguers at the Court reported to Shahjahan that Aurangzeb and his sons, having received costly presents from Golkunda, had neither sent those presents to the Emperor nor deducted the price from the tribute. Aurangzeb replied that, in the first instance, he had refused to take the presents, but ultimately did so on the distinct understanding that they would not be reckoned as part of the tribute. Secondly, they were personal gifts, and not of much value. The elephants

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 25-*a*.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*.

were miserable and the jewels full of flaws. He had taken them in open court and had every intention of forwarding them to the Emperor. Aurangzeb sent everything he and his son had received with a request that they should either be kept by Shahjahan or returned to Qutub Shah. In a long letter to Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb grieves over the distrust shown to him by Shahjahan as regards the jewels from Golkunda. He writes : "I had arranged to forward the presents on my arrival at Daulatabad, but before my departure from Golkunda, *farmans*, which are sent only to culprits and delinquents, arrived in quick succession, and I was ordered to hand over the jewels and elephants before the rainy season. I was suspected of scheming either to hold back or embezzle the presents. The news of His Majesty's disapprobation, his lack of confidence in my words and deeds, and my suspected guilt and fraud in the matter are being everywhere talked about to my mental mortification."*

His complaints.

The bitterness of Aurangzeb's injured feeling and Shahjahan's treatment of him can be realized from a perusal of the letter written by him to his sister : "Whenever I have been appointed to any task by His Majesty, I have always tried to bring it to completion to the best of my ability. I do not know what has been my fault that I am not regarded as trustworthy, and am subjected to indignities. Asir, which had first been granted to me and likewise to my brother, Murad, was allotted to me this time also. Now after this grant had been announced, there came an order that my men were not to take possession of it without any reason being given. Though I have spent twenty years in loyalty and devotion, and have been always ready to serve His Majesty with my life and money, yet I am not considered worthy of

**Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 114-a.

confidence even as much as Dara's son. Recently my brother, Dara, whose solicitude for me is also known to His Majesty, sent one, Mulla Shauq, his emissary, to the ruler of Bijapur, entrusting him with some encouraging messages to the latter and accepting his requests. This has turned that ruler's head and emboldened him. My dear friend, though I never regarded myself worthy of being His Majesty's servant, still as I have been for a long time in this province, to which I was transferred without my asking and without any desire on my part and which was allotted to me through His Majesty's unbounded kindness, such an act (on Dara's part) compromises my position and inflicts indignities on me."*

This letter clearly reveals Dara's uncalled for interference in Aurangzeb's affairs, and shows how Shahjahan was unduly severe in his treatment of Aurangzeb.

Why was Shahjahan so hostile to him? The explanation seems to be that Dara had completely got hold of the Emperor's ear, and used his influence in always discrediting his brother's name. Aurangzeb was alive to his perilous position. The letters he wrote to his sister Jahanara (quoted elsewhere) reveal the intensity of his feelings. He was subjected to such perpetual carping that at times he was disgusted with his troublesome post and only prayed to be relieved of a burden which was becoming more and more unbearable.

As to the relations of Aurangzeb and Dara, we find that there was nothing in common between the two brothers. Dara was his father's favourite, which fact created a sort of community of interest between Shahjahan's other three sons. They were all moved by a common jealousy. While Dara was petted by the Emperor and

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 250-*a*.

flattered by nobles, they were left in comparative neglect, which was bound to have its effect upon their minds. Shahjahan knew this and he always kept them at a distance.

Dara's character.

Dara himself was gifted with many princely qualities. Bright in temper, broad in mind, liberal in views, he was held in great general esteem. But he was so much idolised by his father in and out of season, that vanity began to assert itself. He became haughty in his manners; his accommodating disposition soon became over-bearing; and prematurely anticipating his brilliant future, he assumed an attitude which was not a pleasing spectacle to many. The noble elements in Dara's character were gradually eaten up with the egoism fostered in him by Shahjahan's unbounded love.

Manucci, who was in the service of Dara, and who often retails gossip to the discredit of Aurangzeb, writes of his master: "The first-born son of King Shahjahan was the prince Dara, a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers. He despised those who gave him counsel. Thus it was that his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. He assumed that fortune would invariably favour him and imagined that everybody loved him." *

Dara soon became self opinionated and developed an undue faith in his own judgment. The result was that nobles who professed fidelity to him, did so on account of Shahjahan's solicitude for him and as a matter of policy. For their own sake they adhered to him

* *Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 221.

during the Emperor's reign. Dara lacked firmness and the capacity of undertaking a task and seeing it through. He showed no signs of military genius. He was an indifferent administrator and had no initiative. Being too much loved by his father, he was seldom corrected or reprimanded, with the consequence that he never thought of improving himself. The courtiers discovered all this and their common-sense forbade any reliance upon a man whose sole claim to power and greatness was his father's affection. This was why, when the critical moment came, very few stood by him and fewer still were ready to sacrifice themselves for his cause.

Hostility between Aurangzeb and Dara.

The relation between Aurangzeb and Dara was one of open hatred. The latter never missed any opportunity of discrediting Aurangzeb in the eyes of the Emperor, who believing all his accusations, was ever ready to find fault with his third son. Once Dara reported to Shahjahan that Aurangzeb's men had set fire to houses at Multan, and burnt the wooden frames of doors and windows. Naturally Shahjahan was angry at the incident. When Aurangzeb came to know of Dara's action, he wrote to Jahanara Begum: "You have mentioned that when brother Dara's report about incendiarism at Multan reached the Court, His Majesty censured such an act on the part of my men and directed the punishment of the culprits. It must be made known to His Majesty that I am not acquainted with the incident, and none of my men in any province, not to mention Multan, have been guilty of such a crime. Though the report has been submitted to His Majesty before this, the real facts were not understood. Servants of brother, Dara, after turning out my men, demolished the houses and pillaged the building."*

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 2, 242-a.

Malignant misrepresentation of this kind was a passion with Dara, who never failed to stab Aurangzeb in the back.

When Aurangzeb was returning from Qandhar and approaching Lahore, he saw from a distance Dara's agent and his men coming out of the city to receive him. Aurangzeb went to his camp, and shortly after, when he rode out to make his entry into the city, he found that Dara's agent had disappeared without according him the customary welcome. He complained to Jahanara about the incident, hinting that the agent and his men acted on the advice of their master. (*Adab*, 246-*b*.)

Aurangzeb felt himself more and more in danger on account of the growing power of his eldest brother. What gave a keener edge to his mortification was that he found himself thwarted at every turn by the clever manœuvring of his opponent. We find both the princes were living under a sense of insecurity, the one for his life, the other for his throne. Aurangzeb, on his part, feared that Dara's accession would be celebrated by his own execution, in accordance with family tradition. Dara, on his side, dreaded Aurangzeb's opposition to his claim. Both were harbouring designs and covertly working out their plans. There was a constant friction between them, and each tried to counteract the other's projects. Both brothers consolidated their positions. The matter was to be put to final arbitration one day. He who first unsheathed the sword would have to face the consequences.

Mutual fears.

Besides this political enmity between Aurangzeb and Dara, their religious views were no insignificant factors in bringing about a bitter conflict.

Religious factors.

Akbar's attempt to fuse the two Indian communities together was a dismal failure. Before his days the Afghans

had ruled over India, supported by a large contingent of the Afghan army. They constantly received fresh drafts from countries beyond the Khybar Pass and looked to their kinsmen for help in moments of danger. They relied chiefly on their own strength and military power, and that is why they did not go so far as their successors in winning over the Hindus. The Mughals came from beyond the Oxus. No sooner had they found breathing time at Delhi, than they were driven back by the Afghans who ruled over the larger part of Hindustan.

Humayun succeeded in regaining the throne, but he was always afraid of a Pathan rising. He could not expect any help from Afghanistan. His fatherland was far from his adopted country. His position was one of insecurity, and the occasion demanded that some source of permanent strength should be created within the country itself. It is said that when Humayun had gone to Persia as a refugee and met Shah Tahmasp Safvi, the latter had advised him not to trust the Afghans but to conciliate the Rajputs. Humayun did not live long enough to execute his schemes but he left a worthy successor who at once realised his position, and, in accordance with his father's will, tried to win over the Rajputs.*

Whatever may have been Akbar's own predilections in religious matters, state necessity demanded universal toleration. But in his zeal and anxiety to favour the Hindus, he was not infrequently responsible for tactical blunders which gave offence to Muslim elements. Before he closed his eyes, there were growing signs of a coming storm.

Jahangir was a gay monarch and lay under the spell of his fascinating queen, the beautiful Nur Jahan. We find that, though during his time there were not very serious

* *Massir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 2, p. 260.

indications of an outburst of Muslim feeling against the growing power of the Hindus, yet there were straws showing the direction of the wind.

It is a matter of common knowledge that at the rise of a kingdom or empire, all favourable and conciliatory elements are used and exploited to secure the permanency of the powers that be. But with the passing of time the attitude of the government becomes punctuated with indifference, which the administrators could not have afforded in the beginning. History is full of illustrations. Akbar could look back to the insecurity of his progenitor hence his benevolent attitude ; but by the time Shahjahan came to the throne, the aspect had changed. We detect a tendency on the part of the Musalmans to show some opposition to the growing power of the Hindus. We see a slight change in the tone of the government ; Muslim influence becomes more marked every day. But beyond the destruction of a few half-finished temples, the erection of which was forbidden, the Hindus were not deprived of the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed during Akbar's reign. The only difference was that while Akbar was outwardly an "unbeliever," Shahjahan proclaimed himself a Musalman, and the character of their respective activities was stamped accordingly.

Jahangir and Shahjahan came to power without much ado. Shahjahan had four sons, of whom Dara and Aurangzeb showed greater determination than the rest. The succession was sure to be disputed, and the two claimants looked round for help and support. The Hindus wanted an Akbar, while the Musalmans were anxious to avoid such a misfortune. Both were anxious to safeguard and protect their real or supposed rights. Dara, sure of Aurangzeb's opposition after the Emperor's death, tried to win over the Hindus, with an eve to the future. Aurangzeb, on

the other hand, endeared himself to the Musalmans as a necessary set-off to Dara's policy. Aurangzeb has been accused of being a hypocrite, while Dara is hailed as a frank idealist. But the question really is whether they were both earnest in the profession of their opinions or were simply playing their game under a righteous garb. If one is a hypocrite, the other cannot escape the charge either. We believe that both of them had so far committed themselves to their respective ideas that they could not recede from their positions. We cannot accurately speculate on the possibilities of Dara's accession and its effect on the Musalmans, without reference to his religious tendencies. But before we proceed to discuss Dara's personal views and his eclecticism, we will briefly delineate the effects of Akbar's religious innovations on the Muslim mind.

Akbar.

When Akbar overthrew the domination of Maham Anaga and took charge of the State in 1562, his position was anything but secure. Between 1564 and 1567, he had to suppress the successive revolts of powerful nobles of the Uzbeg tribe and of the Mirzas, who claimed relationship with the Emperor. The period covering nine years from 1567 to 1576 was spent in the conquest of Rajputana, Gujrat, and Bengal. After consolidating his territorial gains, Akbar turned his attention to spiritual matters and endeavoured to find a religious system of his own. It is curious that he should have received the inspiration about his new religion, the Din-i-Ilahi, after his conquests. That religious innovations followed the subjugation of the country is a fact that speaks for itself. It distinctly suggests that his religious movement was to a great extent actuated by political considerations.

Din i-Ilahi.

We notice that the decrees of Din-i-Ilahi were promulgated in the year 990 Hijri (1582 A. D.) a critical period in Muslim history. It was the tenth century of the Hijra, when the idea was rife that the thousand years of Islam were coming to fulfilment, and that the advent of the prophesied Mahdi would be celebrated by the disappearance of all schism from the Church of Mohammad. The consequence was that many pretenders rose who were severely dealt with by Muslim theologians. Akbar, being a man of extraordinary shrewdness, conceived the novel idea of proclaiming himself the prophesied man, the Saheb-i-Zaman. Abdul Qadir Badaoni records that during 988 and 992 Hijra, numerous pamphlets appeared about the advent of the coming Mahdi, and thus Akbar's claim about the divine source of his religion did not remain unsupported. Mir Sharif Amili proved the advent of a prophet in 990 Hijra from the book of Mahmud Khan, and Hakim Firoz supported the argument by a quatrain of Nasir Khusro.*

Khwaja Maulana Shirazi brought with him some tracts from Mecca which announced the life of this planet as seven thousand years, and the close of the tenth century Hijra as the time for the appearance of Mahdi.†

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* The quatrain is as follows:—

در نه صدو هشتادو نه از حکم قضا— آیند کواکب ز جوانب یکجا
درسال اسد ماه اسد روز اسد— ازپردہ برون خرامد آن شیرخدا

Nasir Khusro was a Persian poet and a secretary under the government in Khurasan until he experienced a conversion to the religious life and, resigning his office, became first a pilgrim and then a Dai of the Ismailian sect. His best known work is the *Safarnama*. Hasan bin Sabah was much influenced by Nasir Khusro.

† In *Masir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 2, pp. 383-396, some interesting details are given in confirmation of Akbar's prophethood.

The new creed, however, did not produce any impression among the Musalmans, with the exception of a few time-serving creatures of the Court. But it attained a limited vogue among some classes of the Hindus, and there grew up a sect of people who worshipped the person of Akbar in the same way as their idols, and who would not touch their food unless their eyes had seen his divine face. Though he had adopted many beliefs of the fire-worshippers, his apotheosis by some of the credulous Hindus gradually inclined him more towards those who readily satisfied his spiritual vanity.

Intolerance of Akbar.

Akbar wanted to found a Church absolutely subservient to the State, and, for this reason, he assumed the headship on lines parallel to those of the Pope by accepting the decree of the Ulema, which conferred on him sovereign control over the religion of the Musalmans. This instrument declared that "any opposition on the part of his subjects to an order passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this." "No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal document than the road to deciding any religious question was open. All orders regarding things which our law allows and disallows were abolished and the superiority of the intellect of the Imam (*i. e.* Akbar) became law."*

Such high-handedness on the part of Akbar must have caused unrest and commotion throughout the Empire, but the Emperor was equal to the occasion. When Sheikh Abdul Nabi, the Chief Ecclesiastical Officer of the State, protested against being forced to sign the document, Akbar compelled him to leave India, and when he returned after a time, he was handed over to Abul Fazal, his inveterate enemy, and put to death by

* *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. 2, p. 280.

him.* "Mulla Mohammad Yazdi," says Badaoni, "issued a *fatwa* insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor. The consequence was that Mohammad Masum Kabuli, Masum Khan Farrukhabadi Mir Muizul Mulk, Niyabat Khan, Arab Bahadur and others drew the sword and in many places fought some desperate battles When the Emperor was informed about this *fatwa*, on some pretext or other, he sent for Mulla Mohammad Yazdi and others from Jaunpur. When they arrived at Firozabad, which is eighteen *koses* from Agra, the Emperor sent word that they should separate them from their guards and put them into a boat, and take them by way of the Jamna to Gwalior. Afterwards he sent another order that they should be made away with. So they put the guards into one boat and the captives into another old boat, and when they were in deep water, the sailors were ordered to swamp the boat in the whirlpool of destruction. After some days, Qazi Yaqub came from Bengal and the Emperor sent him after the other two. And, one by one, he sent all the Mullas, against whom he had any suspicion or dissatisfaction, to the closet of annihilation. And, having banished the Ulema of Lahore, he separated them from one another like a dishevelled thread."†

Muslim rising.

A few incidents as related by Badaoni reveal the offensiveness of Akbar's attitude. "In contempt of Islam, ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the harem and under the walls of the Fort, and regarded his visit to them every morning as a religious service.........The era of the Hijra was abolished...... The prayers of Islam, the fast, nay, even the pilgrimage,

Akbar's contempt of Islam.

* *Masar-ul-Umra*, Vol. 2, p. 563.

† *Badaoni*, p. 285.

were henceforth forbidden". * "Wine shops were opened near the Fort and rates fixed. His Majesty worshipped the sun four times a day and devoutly recited its thousand and one Hindi names, catching both the lobes with his hands and wheeling round and round. Antics like these were too many." "Mosques," pitiously cries the author, "were used as godowns and band-stand by the Hindus "†

"The kindness of the king towards the Fathers," writes Father Monserrate, "greatly confirmed and increased the rumour that he had abjured Mohammad; so that it was publicly reported that he wished to become a Christian. He frequently made jokes at the expense of Mohammad." ‡

Abuse of the Prophet.

The debating Society on religious subjects, which Akbar had organized, became an arena where votaries of different creeds fought their religious battles. The atmosphere created by such an institution was by no means peaceful. "In this society," we are told by another author, "the prophets and saints of Islam were openly abused and execrated. Great confusion and excitement prevailed.........An invitation was sent to Adr Kaiwan, the head of the sun worshippers in Persia, but he could not see his way to present himself before the Court, and sent his book in praise of the heavenly planets. Sheikh Abul Fazal gave his verdict that the above-mentioned book was more eloquent than the Qoran.........No respect was accorded to the cannon law and the Prophet's traditions." ¶

"The Fathers and the religious leaders of the Musalmans held frequent debates. The chief indeed of all the Musalman religious leaders (*i. e.* Abul Fazal) who laughed

* *Badaoni*, p. 285.

† *Badaoni*, p. 322.

‡ *Commentary of Monserrate*, p. 64.

¶ *Masir-ul-Umra*, Vol. 2, pp. 385 and 386.

at the system of Mohammad (and for this reason was regarded with great favour by the king) was always on the side of the priests."*

Even after discounting the version of Badaoni, one cannot but be impressed by the fact that, whatever may have been Akbar s religious convictions, he did not care to pay any heed to the susceptibilities of his Muslim subjects. He persisted in doing things in direct contravention to the principles of Islam.

Instead of exerting his liberalising influences impartially and judiciously, Akbar became a fanatic for his own religion. Finding the Hindus receptive of his divine inspirations, he became anxious to convert them all to his religion and to be immortalised as a prophet; consequently in his moods of vanity, when all rationalism had presumably taken leave of him he deliberately injured Muslim beliefs. Though Badaoni, who was in close touch with the Emperor, may be thought biassed in his judgment, none-the less, he and many other historians record the feelings of the orthodox Musalmans. Leaving aside the version of Akbar's unorthodoxy from the Muslim side, we have some accounts from the Jesuits, who were called to the Court to minister to the Emperor's religious curiosity. Peruschi, writing in 1597, records that "Akbar greatly abhors and holds in abomination the Mohammedan sect—as being a person who has already laid bare, and well knows, its falsity and great deceit, being fully resolved to try and change it; and so he has reduced to ruins all the mosques of his countries and turned them into stables." Pinero says that Akbar set boar's fangs in gold as a deliberate insult to the Mohammedans.

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* *Monserrate*, p. 51.

Akbar not a Muslim.

"The Jesuit letters are full of emphatic expressions showing that both at the time of the First Mission (1580-1583) and that of the Third Mission (1595 to end of reign) Akbar was not a Muslim. Peruschi, writing on the basis of Agravivas and Monserrate's letters of 1582, states roundly that "The king is not a Muhammedan," while Monserrate reports a conversation between himself and Akbar early in 1582, when the Emperor declared not only that he was not a Musalman, but that he did not pay any heed to the Muslim formula of the faith." (Vincent Smith in *Akbar the Great Mughal*, p. 215.)

Mosques razed to the ground.

"It is impossible to mention all the silly regulations that were issued. A few samples must suffice. No child was to be given the name of Mohammad and if he had already received it, the name must be changed. *New mosques were not to be built nor were old ones to be repaired or restored. Later in the reign, mosques were levelled to the ground.* The study of Arabic, of Mohammadan law and of Koranic exegesis was discontinued." (*Ibid.*, 220 from Bartoli, p. 78.)

"He (*i. e.*, Akbar) even declared that he was no Musalman, and attributed no value to the creed of Muhammad."*

There is nothing to challenge the accuracy of these statements; they give us an insight into rumours that were abroad and which must have travelled throughout the country with the swiftness of scandals. A closer study of the then prevailing condition clearly reveals to us the edifice which Akbar wanted to construct for reasons of political expediency, but while indulging in his fantasies, he trespassed beyond his proper limit. That, in consequence,

* Monserrate's Commentary, p. 173.

he should have shocked Muslim sentiment, was quite natural. Akbar's ambition to be hailed as a prophet and the founder of a new system was both unwise and unfortunate. To whatever denomination a sovereign belongs, his co-religionists expect, that without detriment to the people of other faiths, he should continue to live within its fold. Akbar, more or less successfully, carried out his policy of equal treatment of his subjects, but he so acted that circumstances lent colour to the belief that he was falling off from his faith and thus was weakening the solidity of the Musalmans, who formed only a small minority. Akbar could have given the greatest freedom and liberty and political rights to his subjects of various creeds without offending the religious susceptibilities of the Musalmans. But he became an apostate from Islam and this created an intensely bitter feeling. The Musalmans in Shahjahan's age were by no means prepared to find in their future sovereigns a replica of Akbar.

All religious innovations excite tremendous opposition; coming, as they did in this case, from the sovereign himself, and forced on people "on pain of loss of property in this world and damnation in the next," they could but produce the greatest misgivings amongst all classes of Musalmans. If the King of England, for instance, were found to have leanings towards Judaism or to be believing in no settled form of Christianity, what commotion would it cause in the country to-day? One has to transport oneself back to the sixteenth century before one can realise the effects of Akbar's religious policy.

Muslim feeling against Akbar.

The extent to which Muslim feeling had been aroused against Akbar is disclosed by an incident that happened at Benares. Shah Tayab Benaresi, a Muslim saint whose tomb, situated a couple of miles north of Benares, still

attracts thousands of people on the occasion of the anniversary of his death, was a contemporary of Akbar. Several books were written about him and his work and we take the following from one of them. It is written in *Ganj-i-Rashidi*, that when in the central mosque at Benares the name of Akbar was read out in "Khutba," Shah Tayab pulled down from the pulpit the man who was reading the "Khutba," and warned him not to mention the name of an infidel (*i. e.*, Akbar) in the sermon. At that time Khwaja Kalan and Shaikh Mah were also present in the mosque. The City Magistrate, the Qazi and others who were on the spot kept silent from fear of Shah Tayab, but later on they went to Khwaja Kalan and Shaikh Mah and told them that they were the servants of the Emperor, who would surely ruin them if the news of the incident reached him. Khwaja Kalan went and spoke to Shah Tayab, who said that as the Emperor was an infidel, Friday prayers were not compulsory.*

Demolition of mosques in Jahangir's reign.

We have previously noticed, that by the time Shahjahan came to the throne, circumstances had considerably changed. During Jahangir's rule many mosques had been demolished and appropriated by the Hindus, and new temples erected in different parts of the Empire. It is also alleged against Jahangir that three Musalmans were put to death at Muthra by his order on the charge of having slaughtered a cow.† Abdul Hamid Lahori, who was the Court Historian of Shahjahan, records how the Emperor gave orders for the reclaiming of the mosques, and the destruction of those half-finished temples which were built without sanction (*Shahjahan Nama* 57, 58, 452). It should be noticed that at this period, both the Hindus and the Musalmans were anxious to safeguard their rights.

* *Ganj-i-Rashidi*, p 32.

† *Ganj-i-Arshadi*, p. 1172. (See Bibliography.)

Dara appears on the political stage and shows great consideration for Vedantic philosophy and is favourably disposed towards the Hindus.

Dara's religious ideas.

Dara proclaimed himself a pantheist, and, after being initiated into the Sufistic doctrine of the Kadria sect, tried to gain some knowledge of Hindu mysticism. Being posted at Allahabad, he availed himself of the wisdom of the Hindus from Benares, the home of Indian learning. Becoming acquainted with the depth of their thought and the true inwardness of their system, which then appeared to him alloyed with many impurities which had crept in with the growth of time, he endeavoured to find a meeting point between Hinduism and Islam. Akbar had listened to the sacred words of "*Rishis*" and "*Mahatmas*," but he was not philosophic enough to assimilate the subtle and finer shades of Hindu thought. In fact, all his religious eccentricities were simply undigested forms of numerous ideas he had accumulated from votaries of different religious systems. Dara, emulating his great-grandfather's example, sat at the feet of the Brahmans, and set to work with some seriousness with the result that we see in him an admirer of the pantheistic system of the Hindu faith. He felt disgusted with the degenerated formalism and lifeless ritual which the orthodox class of every religion had fallen into. Believing in the universal truths which are common to every religion, he tore away the veil, thus discovering the Unity of God, the gem shining with all its lustre among all the nations of the earth. But as unpublished knowledge was no acquisition to the world at large, he translated the Upanishads into Persian But in his unguarded moments Dara gave expression to his thoughts in words which were ambiguous and could be easily misinterpreted. We append here the

translation of the preface to his book ' *Sirrul-Asrar*,"* which is the Persian rendering of the Upanishads.

Qoran enigmatical.

' As the Qoran, the sacred book, is often enigmatical† and those who know its secret meanings and its correct exegesis are rare, I desired to go through all the divine books, that from all these words of God (which in themselves ought to be commentaries of their own texts, for if they are concise in one, they must be comprehensive in another)—might be fully explained. I read the Old and the New Testaments, the Psalms and other sacred books, but the description of the Unity of God was in all of them, brief and obscure, and the true meaning could not be made explicit from translations rendered by biassed people

Its obscurity.

...........The doctors of learning, both mystic and otherwise, of ancient Hindustan, do not reject the theory of the Unity of God and have nothing to say against the Unitarian. Rather, it (Unity of God) is a source of confidence to them, and they reveal the pantheistic philosophy that is distinctly expressed in the sacred Qoran and the authentic Traditions of the Prophet, as against the ignorant men of to-day, who proclaim themselves professors of learning, yet are always after dilatory discussions and altogether reject and oppress the Unitarians (*i. e.* the Hindus) .... It is written in the sacred Qoran that there is no nation without God's Messenger and a Book, as is revealed in the verse: "There is no punishment (for a people) until after a prophet is sent to them," as well as from the verse "He sent prophets among peoples and gave them Books." It is, therefore, quite clear from these that God does not punish people until a prophet is born among them and there is no nation

* *British Museum Ms. In some Mss, the book bears the title of Sirr-i-Akbar. See Majma-ul-Bahrain by Professor Mazharul Haq (Bibliotheca Indica Series) pages 1, 12.*

† چون قرآن کریم اکثرے مرموزاست

which has had no prophets. "Verily, He has blessed them with miracles and given them Books"..............I desired to translate the Upanishads, which is a treasure of pantheism, into Persian, word for word, without prejudice and without any self-interest.........Any difficult problem, that came to my mind and remained unsolved, in spite of my best efforts, became clear with the help of this ancient scripture, which is undoubtedly the First Divine Book and the source of truth and sea of Pantheism, and is in accordance with the sacred Qoran, nay, its commentary. It is apparent that the following verse* is in respect of this Book " Innahu le Qoran Karim fi kitab maknun la yammassahu illal mutharun tanzila min rabbil-alemin ", *i.e.*, the sacred Qoran is based on a book that is hidden and which cannot be understood.

Upanishad, its original.

It is evident that this verse is not in favour of the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Bible, nor does it refer to Lauh-i-Mahfuz. *As Upanishad, which is a hidden secret, is the original of this book* (*i. e.*, of the Qoran) and the verses of the Qoran could be found in it in their entirety, verily, the hidden book (of the Qoran) is this book which is original and ancient. Taking this translation as the translation of the words of God, and shaking off all prejudices, I read and understand it."†

انه لقرآن کریم فی کتاب مکنون لایمسه الا المطهرون تنزیل من رب العالمین
یعنی قرآن کریم در کتابے است که آن کتاب پنهان است و اورا ادراک
نمی تواند کرد—ومعلوم شد که این آیت د حق زبور و توریت وانجیل
نیست—اُپنکهت که سرپوشیده است اصل این کتاب است وآیتهاے قرآن
مجید بعینه دران یافته می شود تحقیق که کتاب مکنون این کتاب اصل
این کتاب قدیم باشد—این ترجمه را ترجمه کلام الهی دانسته ترک تعصب
نموده بخواند وبفهمد

* The Qoran, Ch. Lvi : 77, 78. 79.

†I beg to differ from the translation given by the translator of *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, I, 13.

We can easily make out the author's idea. He is anxious to establish the fact that every nation has a revealed book and a prophet, and since the Hindus are one of the ancient civilized races, their philosophical researches are original in many respects. This is an assertion that has to be accepted. The Hindus were advanced in metaphysical researches and their philosophy was well developed. We are ready to give credit to Dara for his well-intended exposition of an incontrovertible fact, but, at the same time, we hold that in his anxiety to propound real and pure Hinduism, he unwittingly laid himself open to misunderstanding. His view that the Qoran was enigmatical, that its meaning was hidden, that its description of the Unity of God was brief and obscure, and that the Upanishad was its original, must have been resented by a large majority of the Musalmans.

Intentions, however excellent, have to be expressed without ambiguity if they are not to defeat their own object; the masses cannot possibly be expected to plumb a man's motive. Dara had good intentions but he could have easily explained his point of view without suggesting that the idea of the Unity of God was *better* expounded in the Upanishads than in the sacred Qoran of the Muslims.

Dara often uses expressions of questionable propriety, thus laying himself open to the charge of heresy. In a letter to Shah Dilroba, he says, "It is a matter of thankfulness that my heart abjured outward Islam and accepted real infedility (*Faiyaz-ul-Quwanin*):"

الحمد لله که از برکت صحبت آین طایفهٔ شریفهٔ مکرمهٔ معظمه
از دل این فقیر اسلام مجازی برخاست و کفر حقیقی روئے نمود

Admitting that in Sufistic literature words have different meanings and objectionable expressions are rendered innocuous in the light of elaborate explanations, it is necessary to point out that what may be allowed to a Pir

will not be tolerated in a prince. That Dara had offended orthodoxy is a fact that demands recognition.

Dara had put some questions to Shaikh Mohibullah of Allahabad, who, in his reply, made references to the sayings of famous men. Dara then wrote to the Shaikh, "The ecstacies which do not accord with the commandments of God and His Prophet are much better than what is written in books. I studied the biographies of Mashaikhs for a long time, but, finding great differences of opinion, I gave them up and devoted myself to the study of my heart which is a limitless ocean and from which I bring out fresh pearls......I wanted to commit to writing whatever I brought out of that ocean, and to send the same to you for approval, but as my thoughts are not presentable in ordinary dress, I await your commands (*Ibid*)."*

Apart from confused thinking on the part of Dara, the implication is clear that he did not care to follow any one save the promptings of his own heart and which were of such a dubious kind that he could not persuade himself to make them public.

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*بعضے از جواب ایشان که مطابق خواهش این جانب بود و بعضے را از ذوق و وجدان خود که موافق کتاب الله و سنت رسول الله بود دریافت و آنکه در جواب ها همه جا حواله بقول قدما کرده بودند تحقیق دانند که نزد این فقیر وجدے که موافق نیفتد بقول خدا و رسول بسے بهتر است از آنچه در کتابها نوشته باشند– چه مدتے کتب حال مشایخ مطالعه میکرد چون اختلاف بسیار ظاهر شد مطالعه کتب را بالکل متروک ساخت و مطالعه دل که بحریست لا محدود و ازان همیشه گوهر هاے تازه بیرون می آید پرداخت

مرا بهیچ کتابے دگر حواله مکن—که من حقیقت خود را کتاب میدانم انچه ازان بحر بیرون آورده بود میخواست که در سلک، تحریر آورده نزد ایشان بفرستد تا انصاف بدهند — اما چون لباس ظاهر و ادب باطن تقاضائے آن نمیکرد و موقوف برخواهش واشارهٔ ایشان داشته اگر از آنجانب اشاره رود بتفصیل ظاهر نموده خواهد شد

It is necessary and fair to point out that though other works of Dara on the comparative religious philosophy of the Hindus and the Muslims have been consulted, I have nowhere come across any expression openly heretical. He is at no place disrespectful to the Prophet. In his book, *Risala-i-Haqnama*, a work that deals with "the disclosure of the path of God," he always uses the same respectful expressions about the Prophet as are popularly applied to his name.* But in spite of all this, one must bear in mind the political circumstances of the country. Akbar had begun his career as a liberal-minded Musalman as well as an admirer of Hinduism, but, in the end, he had proclaimed himself a prophet and, starting a new religion of his own, began to persecute the Muslims. In the eyes of the Musalmans, Dara was dangerously treading the same path as his great-grandfather had done. His proclivities seemed innocuous, but who knew where he would stop?

Dara repeatedly speaks of his spiritual eminence and throughout his works runs a streak of egoism and self-commendation. "The wealth of divine knowledge is not bestowed on every person, but has been bestowed specially on me," writes the saintly prince, (p. 6 *Risala*). His tracts and books are punctuated with similar expressions of self-praise.

Some of the really great Sufis, whose saintliness, individual perfection and spiritual attainments are admitted by all, have, in moments of transport and ecstacy, uttered words which will be denounced by an orthodox Muslim as unpardonably heretical. Those, however, who are acquainted with Sufistic literature will be able to understand the true and inward meaning of those words which apparently seem highly objectionable. Mansur's utterance of *Anal-Haq* (I am God),

* *Risala i-Haqnama*, Litho, Newul Kishore Press, p. 5.

for instance, offended orthodoxy and brought about his execution, but his words are capable of intelligent explanation. Dara, in imitation of the great mystics, indulged in aphorisms and mystical utterances repugnant to orthodox doctrines, though it is a matter of speculation whether he ever attained to that rapturous state of exaltation, which justifies such licence. In his book, *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, he complains of the mischievous people who accused him of heresies because of his ecstatic utterances; and in order to justify his effusions and mystical spumescence, he collected the aphorisms of all the great saints in the book named above. The fact that he was accused of being a heretic when he was in the height of power, gives piquancy to his condemnation by the Ulamas just before his execution.

Dara was centuries in advance of his time. His bold and daring excursions into the realm of speculation brought about his ruin.

It seems that Dara himself had no little misgiving about his liberal mindedness. He betrays his anxiety in the preface of a book dealing with comparative religious concepts of Hinduism and Islam. "This disquisition," he says, "has been written for the benefit of *my family* only in accordance with my inspiration and taste, and *I have nothing to do with the public of the two communities* (*i. e.*, Hindus and Muslim" *). In imitation of the recognized mystic schools,

Dara as a Pir.

Dara had begun to create a spiritual following of his own and was diffusing his knowledge among them. But he was conscious of the raw minds of the masses whom he did not wish to take into confidence. How different was the attitude of Aurangzeb in

* *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (British Museum). *See* Bibliography. Just as I was sending the Ms. of this book to the Press, I received a copy of *Majma-ul-Bahrain* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I had, however, availed myself of a Ms. in Br. Museum.

later years when he ridiculed the solicitations of a man who had requested to be his spiritual pupil! Dara was conscious of his spiritual greatness and recruited disciples. Aurangzeb professed modesty and needed no such following. It was a tactical blunder on the part of Dara to have assumed the role of a holy man at such an early stage. "In the beginning of my youth," writes Dara, "I saw a person in my dream who repeatedly told me that I would get something that had never been attained by any earthly king. The interpretation of the dream was the attainment of spiritual realisation. I was expecting this blessing which I now possess." *

Dara had an inquiring mind. The subject of free-will and pre-destination constantly occupied his thoughts. The letter he wrote to Sarmad gives us a glimpse of his mental attitude. "My guide and preceptor," writes the Prince, "I daily intend paying my respects to you, but my hopes are not realised. If I am I, why this suspension of intention? If I am not I, then this is no fault of mine. If the martyrdom of Imam Husain was according to God's will, then why blame Yazid? If it was not the will of God, what is the meaning, then, of the (Qoranic) verse 'God does what He wills, and orders what He desires.' The Prophet went to fight the infidels and the Muslim army was defeated. The Ulama declare that "this was done to teach the Prophet the lesson of patience, but the perfect man requires no schooling." Sarmad who lived in a state of transport and ecstacy and had somewhat lost his mental balance sent the following verse in reply: "I have forgotten all I read, except the words of the beloved, which I always repeat"†

مانچه خوانده ایم فراموش کرده ایم آلا حدیث دوست که تکرار می کنیم

*Risala Haq-nama.

†See an article by Maulvi Abdul Bari in Indian Antiquary, Vol 39, pp. 119-126, and the Urdu Journal, *Sufi*, for May 1924.

In spite of his boast of spiritual attainments, his interrogatories to Sarmad are indicative of the fact that he had failed to realise the true inwardness of Islamic philosophy.* His questions, his intimate association with Baba Lal, a Hindu devotee, and the inclusion of his name in *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* and *Majma-ul-Bahrain* as a perfect *Arif* among Muslim Saints must have provoked serious comment.

Mustaid Khan writes : "Of the censurable conduct of Dara was his inclination towards Hinduism and his propagation of atheism."† This may be a perversion of fact but, none the less, it shows that Dara's proclivities were looked upon with absolute disfavour by the Musalmans.

Apart from the alleged bias of Muslim historians *vis a vis* Dara, we are in possession of the testimony of a Hindu contemporary which is illuminating. Sujan Singh writes: "Aurangzeb—on hearing that Dara Shikoh, being inclined towards the religion of the Hindus, associates with Brahmans, Jogis, and Sanniyasis, and regards them as his guides and preceptors, and looks upon their Books, known as Vedas, as ancient and revealed from God, and spends his precious time in translating them, and composing poems in Hindi, calls them *Tasawuf*, and, instead of the name of God, he has inscribed Hindi names which denote Reflection of God to Hindus, on diamond, ruby and other stones, and puts them on over his dress as a charm, and has discarded fasting and prayer and the ways of a Musalman, and has usurped all power—determined to pay his respect to His Majesty (Shahjahan)."‡

*For an extremely learned discourse on free-will, see *Spirit of Islam* by Ameer Ali, 372, *et seq.*

† *M. A.*, p. 4.

‡ *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Sujan Singh, p. 338. I have used my own Ms.

Removed as we are to-day from the period under review, and living in quite a different atmosphere, it is extremely unsafe to judge things from a modern standard. If any other author had been moved into such a bold expression of his ideas as Dara was, they might have been received differently; but he was to claim the throne one day, and every act and word of his was liable to the closest scrutiny.

Nanak and Kabir, two great reformers who flourished during the Muslim domination, preached almost the same universal truths as Dara did. Both dreamed of fusing the two communities together in the crucible of spiritualism. As far as their own personalities were concerned, they had no indifferent success, because there was no danger of any political bias among them. They were free to think. Dara failed as a royal prince, because his predilections were viewed with suspicion; they created misgivings and gave colour to all his activities.

As we have already pointed out, the Musalmans were much agitated in Akbar's time, and now they saw in Dara not a warm admirer of their faith but an upholder of Hindu thought.

Muslim apprehension.

The Musalmans became apprehensive as they feared his relapse into Akbar's mood and humour, which they did not appreciate. If a large section of the Musalmans, therefore, took exception to his views, there is no ground to belittle its judgment. Aurangzeb, unlike Dara, was a strict Musalman, and, as such, was looked upon with favour by his co-religionists. If he shared the misgivings with many others about Dara's religious propensities and their effect on the Muslim faith and predominance, no one can reasonably doubt his religious and political anxiety more than Dara's eclectic sincerity.

In reviewing the situation, therefore, the following factors should be borne in mind:—

Factors in the struggle.

1. The violent enmity between Aurangzeb and Dara, which was getting more and more accentuated every day.

2. The religious tendencies of Dara, which created misgivings among the Musalmans.

3. The political situation in which both Muslims and Hindus were making a bid for enlarged power.

4. The ill-feeling between Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Such, in short, were the circumstances when the embers, that had been secretly smouldering, burst into an open conflagration when the scramble for the throne took place.

CHAPTER II.

WAR OF SUCCESSION.

Shahjahan's illness and Dara's move.

Shahjahan was taken ill at Delhi about the beginning of September, 1657, and his condition became so critical that everyone thought he was dead. But he soon became convalescent and a change of air was suggested. He left Delhi on the 18th of October for Agra, where the people watched the state entry of their sovereign. During Shahjahan's illness, Dara had been so anxious to suppress all news from leaking out, that with the exception of himself and one or two trusted ministers, no one was allowed to approach the Emperor's sick-bed. Feeling sure that his brothers, would oppose his succession, he took every measure to prevent letters from reaching them Guards were appointed to watch the ferries and no messenger was allowed to pass. The official news-writers of the princes were interned and forbidden to communicate with their chiefs on any account. Isa Beg, Aurangzeb's agent at the Court, was imprisoned and his property attached.

Dara attempted to come to terms with Murad by offering him the provinces of Gujrat and Malwa, and had a private interview with his agent at the Court. But finding no response, he fell back upon another device.

Murad's viceroyalty of Gujrat was conferred upon Qasim Khan, one of Dara's partisans, and Murad was directed to betake himself to Berar, which had hitherto belonged to Aurangzeb. Dara counted upon setting one brother against the other, but this manœuvre was too clumsy to deceive anybody. Instead of marching against Aurangzeb as Dara expected, Murad plundered the city of Surat to find the wherewithal for the coming contest and finally had himself crowned.

When Shahjahan arrived at Agra, there was a distinct improvement in his health though he was not quite out of danger. Dara, who had now the sole control of the administration, was not free from anxiety. The Emperor might at any moment breathe his last, and that event was sure to be the signal for a quadrangular contest for the throne. He, therefore, took every measure to strengthen his position and sent *farmans* to different provinces with forged signatures of Shahjahan.[1] He recalled the Mughal officers from the Deccan and made Aurangzeb's position extremely perilous. He appropriated Malwa; and the revenues were distributed among his followers to induce them to devote themselves wholeheartedly to his cause.[2] He wished to complete his preparations and steal a march on his brothers, so that at the critical moment he may be able to crush them at one blow.[3] To facilitate his designs, he sent letter after letter announcing the recovery of Shahjahan. But his brothers suspected deceit and insisted on coming to Agra to see things for themselves.

The Muslim nobles at the Court advised Dara not to hinder the progress of his brothers, but to allow them to approach the capital where they could be easily and effectively dealt with. Rao Satar Sal and Ram Singh, however, were of opinion that this advice was based on self-interest, and Dara, agreeing with them, contemptuously remarked, "I will soon make these short-trousered fellows (*i.e* Muslim nobles) run as Satar Sal's orderlies."[4] The nobles were offended but kept silent.

Dara offends Muslim nobles.

1. *Faiyazul-Qawanin; Lub-ut-Tawarikh.*
2. *Khafi Khan*, Vol. II p. 7
3. *Khulasatut Tawarikh* p. 366.
4. من عنقریب این کوته پایچه هارا درحلیب سترسال خواهم دواند

The Muslims are enjoined to wear their trousers a little above their ankles. Hence Dara's contemptuous term.

Shahjahan himself asked Dara to avoid an armed conflict as there would be no harm if Aurangzeb and Murad came to pay respects to him. "But as Dara was heading for a fall, he did not agree to the Emperor's advice."[5] By the middle of December he had sent two armies, one under Raja Jaswant Singh to oppose Aurangzeb's advance from the Deccan, and the other to turn Murad out of his province.

Though Dara considered himself the heir apparent, Shahjahan had made no formal declaration in his favour.[6] Murad and Aurangzeb argued that, if Dara could be so high-handed during the life-time of the Emperor, his attitude after the death of Shahjahan could be easily conjectured. Dara may have been justified in adopting necessary measures against his brothers, but no apologist of Dara can blame Murad and Aurangzeb for taking precautionary measures in their self-defence.

Impartiality requires a clear apprehension of the mutual relations and feelings of the sons of Shahjahan. If there was anything in common between Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, it was a burning hatred of the eldest prince. Dara himself did not intend to spare his brothers; nor were they, on their part, inclined to show any regard for him. The struggle, therefore, was a struggle for life, and whenever there is a question of life-and-death, man becomes a slave of the primary instinct of self-preservation and all other considerations are relegated to the background. Shahjahan's own acts are a cruel testimony to this effect.

Aurangzeb's caution.

Though Shuja and Murad had proclaimed themselves kings, Aurangzeb refrained from such a precipitate action. He did not wish to be called a rebel while the Emperor was still alive. He

5. K. T. 374-a; K. K. II. 21.
6. K. K. II. 4.

admonished Murad for raiding Surat and condemned his public coronation. Murad, however, begged of him to march to Agra before Dara could strengthen his position. Aurangzeb found himself in a perilous position. The recall of the Mughal officers from the Deccan, where he was engaged in a war with Bijapur, had made his position untenable. The Bijapuris had grown bold and harassed the Mughal troops incessantly; the Sultan of Golkunda was endeavouring to get possession of some part of the imperial territory. Aurangzeb had not enough military force left with him to punish the Bijapuris or to stay in their country for some time. If he remained in the Deccan, he would have no hand in shaping the affairs of Northern India. His officers were getting restless for want of a settled scheme. If Aurangzeb was not going to claim the throne, why should they sacrifice their interests by siding with him? Such was the dilemma in which Dara's policy had placed him. Circumstances demanded an open declaration of his intentions, but he was unable to take any definite step owing to the conflicting rumours about the Emperor.

His decision.

At last, harassed by anxieties and driven to choose between two alternatives—self-defence against Dara, his mortal enemy, or complete subjection to a revengeful brother—he made up his mind to fight for life.

After conciliating the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda he started for Burhanpur, which he reached in February, 1658. "He sent a letter to the Emperor, enquiring after his health and requesting for informations, and waited for a month for a reply." (K. T. 369). In the meantime, he completed his military preparations.

When Isa Beg, his agent at the Court, came to his camp after his release and told him of Dara's high-handedness, Aurangzeb moved north, and crossing the Narbada on

the 3rd of April, proceeded towards Ujjain and met Murad near Dipalpur on the 14th of April, 1658.

Before taking an extreme step, Aurangzeb sent Kab Rai, a famous Hindu poet, to Raja Jaswant Singh, asking him not to bar his way as he was only going to Agra to visit his father. But Jaswant pleaded the Emperor's orders[7].

Murad also wrote a separate letter to Jaswant reminding him of the promise he had made to cherish his cause. "I hope that in accordance with the pact and promise made to me through Khwaja Shahbaz, you will, at this time, come to me and redeem your promise. I suppose that you have come here under the excuse of joining me. I hope you will let me know your intentions.........However, we three brothers, are united and ready for all eventualities."[8] Jaswant sent no reply.

Dara had given Jaswant definite instructions to prevent the entrance of the princes into Northern India at all cost. He was directed, first, to use all his tact to keep them at their places and to give them battle as the last resort only. He attempted to stop their march by bringing his diplomatic skill into play. But Aurangzeb was more than a match for him. To Jaswant he wrote that if he was really in earnest to serve him, he should leave his army and come alone to his camp.[9] This was out of the question. The Raja was in duty bound to oppose his march to Agra, and consequently prepared for battle. Aurangzeb had no intention of allowing Dara and his adherents time to consolidate their position. He wished to proceed to Agra to protest against Dara's high-handedness and injustice. These were the reasons which impelled him to join issue with the Raja.

7. *Khafi*, p. 13 Vol. II; K. T. 370.
8. Letter of Murad to Raja Jaswant Singh, F—Q.
9. K.—T. 370.

The battle 15th April.

The battle which ended in the rout of Dara's army was one of the fiercest battles ever fought in Hindustan. From the outset Jaswant's troops had to fight under a great disadvantage. Apart from other strategic blunders, the ground selected for the battle was uneven. There was also a lack of co operation between the generals. On the other side, Aurangzeb's personality was inspiring and every move of his was deliberate and well-considered. The valiant and undaunted Rajputs, though surrounded on all sides, fought to the last; but they could not overcome the dogged opposition of their adversaries who were masterfully led by Aurangzeb to victory. As a contrast to the behaviour of the Rajputs, it is asserted that Dara's Muslim troops treacherously refrained from helping Jaswant when he was hard pressed.[10]

A charge refuted.

It is said that, after the battle, four Muslim officers came over to Aurangzeb's camp and were rewarded by him, a fact which exposed them to the charge of infidelity and disloyalty.[11] We, however, find that both the Musalmans and Rajputs fought to the end, but as always happens in such contests, a limit is reached beyond which no human energy can hold its own. The worst is bitterly accepted and one resigns oneself to fate. In the present case, Iftikhar Khan can be mentioned as an officer who bore the brunt of many attacks and at last lost his life. On the other hand, Debi Singh Bundela, a commander of some rank, went over to Murad in the thick of the battle and asked for his favour.[12] Raja Rai Singh Sisodia and Raja Subhan Singh Chandrawat and other men separated from the main army and rode off to their homes.[13]

10. Tod, p. 38 Vol. II.
11. Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb. Vol. 2 p 7.
12. Khafi Khan, p. 17 Vol. 2.
13. K. T. 372-a.

If Qasim Khan and others fled, it was because they realized the hopelessness of the situation and could do no more. Jaswant Singh himself withdrew to Jodhpur, but his wife, a daughter of Rana of Odaipur, shut the gates of the castle, and would not receive a husband who had brought the ignominy of defeat to the Rajput house.[14]

Jaswant's flight.

Aurangzeb's victory was complete but he forbade pursuit and issued strict orders that no one was to move from his place.[15] His letter to Shahjahan despatched after the battle of Dharmat positively proves that the defeated army of Jaswant was not pursued by the victors. After pleading, that in his march to the capital he had no other purpose but to see the Emperor, Aurangzeb writes, " If, apart from paying respects to your Majesty, I had any other motive, how easy would it have been for me to capture Jaswant and his followers when in a wretched condition. they were without protection in the valley of defeat?"[16] The accusation that even in the matter of pursuit, Aurangzeb discriminated between Hindus and Muslims is without foundation.

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14. Bernier, p. 13.

15. K. T. 373—a.

وامر جلیل القدر بصدور پیوست کہ از لشکر منصور ھیچکس تعاقب مہاراجہ مقہور نکند ھمہ کس بجائے مقام خود ایستادہ باشد

16. *Faiyazul Qawanin.*

اگر سوائے دریافت سعادت ملازمت ارادہ دیگر می بود بدست آوردن او و ھمراھانش کہ بحال تباہ و روز سیاہ بےسپر وادی حزیمت بودند چہ قدر کار بود

Sarkar writes (II.22) " Aurangzeb mercifully forbade pursuit, saying that this sparing of human life was his *Zakat* to the Creator. But the Creator in Aurangzeb's creed is evidently the Creator of Muslims only. The Prince's instructions to his officers were to spare the life of every Musalman found in the field and to respect the property and chastity of the Musalmans found in the enemy's camp. The Hindus were outside the pale of his mercy."

In view of Aurangzeb's letter and the testimony of a Hindu author Sarkar's observations are wide of the mark.

The Emperor had been at Agra since November, 1657, but the climate did not suit him, and he was returning to Delhi when the news of Jaswant's defeat arrived. It was a great blow for Dara. He decided to hasten back to Agra and lead an army in person; but Shahjahan was unwilling to turn back, as Agra did not agree with his health. Dara became impatient; though the Emperor at last yielded to his pressing request, he realised the seriousness of the situation and advised Dara not to quarrel with his brothers. Further fighting, he urged, would be an unnecessary provocation; and it would be a disgrace for him, if he allowed his sons to fight during his life-time. He wished to see the princes in person to restore peace and order, and bring them to reason. He, consequently, ordered his advance tents to be pitched outside Agra. But Dara was obstinate, and would not let Shahjahan have his way.[17] If the Emperor had reached the princes before the battle at Samugarh, much useless bloodshed would have been avoided, and both Shahjahan and Dara spared the misfortunes that overtook them. Dara disobeyed the Emperor and was unmoved by his earnest entreaties; he led an army to decide the issue by the force of arms and has, consequently, little justification for his conduct. He who unsheathes the sword, must abide by its decision.

After the victory of Dharmat, Aurangzeb proceeded to Ujjain and thence to Gwalior, where he arrived about the 21st of May. Here he learnt that Dara was in command of the army at Dholpur and that all the ferries on the Chambal were strongly guarded. He succeded, however, in crossing the river at a neglected ford, and thus obliged Dara to abandon his position on the Chambal. The road to Agra was now clear and Aurangzeb, marching north, suddenly came to Samugarh, only eight miles from the Agra

17. K. K. II. 21; K—T. 374.

fort. Dara, finding himself so out-manœuvred, had no alternative but to fall back from Dholpur, to avoid an out-flanking movement.

A letter.

After crossing the Chambal, Aurangzeb wrote a letter to Shahjahan detailing all his grievances: "As power did not remain in Your Majesty's hand and Dara's usurpation of authority was beyond description, all his efforts were directed towards persecuting me so that I may be deprived of the income of the Deccan treasury with the consequent dissatisfaction and disruption of the army. At a time when the Bijapuris, pushed to a tight corner, were prepared to pay a huge indemnity, he recalled the imperial army and secretly sent his own men to encourage them (*i.e.*, Bijapuris) with the result that the enemy became aggressive..............................Without any fault of mine, he transferred my Jagir and sent Jaswant against me, so that not an inch of land may remain in my possession. As Your Majesty becoming powerless, did not attend to the administration of the country, and, *on his instigation, Your Majesty considered all your sons as enemies and issued farmans according to his dictation*, I took upon myself the task of acquainting Your Majesty with the true facts As Raja Jaswant Singh barred my way, I was obliged to punish him and gave him a crushing defeat If, apart from paying respects to Your Majesty, I had any other motive, how easy would it have been for me to capture Jaswant and his followers when, in a wretched condition, they were without protection in the valley of defeat. As the eldest prince has arrived at Dholpur for an encounter and it is difficult for him to gain any advantage over a rival like me, who has vanquished armies, it is expedient that he should be sent to the Punjab, his own province." (*Faiyazul—Qawanin, 119-121.*)

Aurangzeb also sent a letter to the minister, Jafar Khan, impressing upon him the necessity of sending Dara to Lahore, but the letters had no effect on Shahjahan.[18] On the contrary, when Dara was starting for Dholpur, the Emperor openly prayed for his victory.[19]

Battle of Samugarh.

The 29th of May, 1658 was a momentous day in the annals of Hindustan The trumpets that rent the air on the battle-day of Samugarh sounded the death-knell of Dara. In the scorching

18. Adab, 167-a.

19. Storia, I. 267.

heat of a blazing sun, the two brothers met at death-grips to decide the fate of the Mughal throne. The aged Shahjahan was undergoing the greatest mental torture when three of his sons met in mortal encounter. The battle of Samugarh sealed the fate of Dara and gave the sceptre to Mohi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb, the future Emperor of India.

Dara, worn out with fatigue and thirst, retired from the battle-field to his house in Agra and shut himself within doors. Shahjahan sent for him but he did not dare to face his father against whose wishes he had drawn the sword. No time was to be lost in wailing and crying; the enemy was in pursuit and he had to flee for life. Dara, the darling of his father, who had once stood amidst a troop of flattering nobles and *Amirs*, the prince who had started on his momentous journey shouting "Victory or Death!" was now doomed to be a fugitive. He left Agra not to the accompaniment of beating drums and flourishing trumpets, but with a heavy heart, a dejected soul, and in the darkness of the night. The letter that Shahjahan wrote to Dara at this time is extremely pathetic. "My dear child! Fate laughs at man's efforts.......No one ever saw the parting of his life with his own eyes.......But I see with my own eyes that my soul is leaving me."[20] The Emperor's grief was beyond words. He sent Dara gold and silver, and ordered all governors to help his unfortunate son.

The first act of the victorious Aurangzeb, after the hard-won battle, was to prostrate himself on the ground before the All-powerful to offer thanks for the success of

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20. Fatuhat, 26—a.

باباۓ من—بر تدبیر آدم تقدیر خنده می نماید

رفتن بچشم خود ندیده هیچکس

his arms. We are reminded at this moment of Malik Shah, the great Saljuq Emperor, who had to fight against his uncle, cousin and brother. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Tus before the tomb of Imam Reza. As he rose from the ground, he asked his Wazir, Nizam ul-Mulk, who had been kneeling beside him, what had been the object of his earnest prayer. "That your arms may be crowned with victory," was Nizam-ul-Mulk's sincere reply. "For my part," said the generous Malik Shah, "I implored the Lord of Hosts that He would take away from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Muslims."[21] Aurangzeb never failed to remind Shahjahan that his victory over Dara was a dispensation of God and he must become resigned to it.

Soon after the trumpet of victory had been sounded, nobles and *Amirs* flocked to Aurangzeb's tent and raised their voices in devotion and homage. The remnant of Dara's army, privates and officers, hastened to acknowledge his sovereignty. The camp then moved and the prince halted at Nur Manzil outside Agra on the 1st of June, 1658.

After the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzeb sent a letter of apology to Shahjahan, who on the 1st of June wrote his reply on the margin of the letter, (K. T. 379). Later on, Shahjahan sent a famous sword, named 'Alamgir,' which title Aurangzeb adopted as a happy augury. On the 2nd of June, Jahanara Begum visited Aurangzeb, "said some soft and hard words by way of advice, and returned after receiving a disagreeable reply." [22]

21. Gibbon, Vol. 6 p. 262.

22. K. K. II. 31. Aqil Khan puts the visit on 10th June, but as Shahjahan was deprived of his authority on 8th June, there was no point in offering terms to Aurangzeb on 10th June by which the [illegible] was to be given to Dara.

Shahjahan's first letter inviting Aurangzeb to an interview, was sent through Fazil Khan and Syed Hedaitullah.[23] Owing to their pursuasion, Aurangzeb agreed to pay his respects to the Emperor "at an auspicious moment." (F—Q.). Shahjahan should have waited for the auspicious moment, but he sent another letter through Fazil Khan pressing Aurangzeb to come to see him. What happened between the two visits of Fazil Khan, and why Shahjahan was prompted to write another letter is not known. Aqil Khan, however, has quoted Aurangzeb's reply. "On account of human weakness and overpowered by fears and apprehensions, I have not the courage to pay my respects to Your Majesty with peace of mind. If, as a favour, you will kindly allow some of my men to enter the Fort and occupy its gates, I will come, and kissing your feet, tender my apologies."

Fazil Khan again came with another letter from the Emperor. Aurangzeb not only declined the proposed interview but immediately began the siege of the Fort. Shahjahan then sent a letter rating Aurangzeb for his pride on his good fortune and reminding him of his filial duties. The long reply in which Aurangzeb assured Shahjahan of his profound respect and regard, he concluded thus : " I had intended to visit Your Majesty, but on account of *certain happenings and the present temper of your august self*, I am full of doubts. If the gates of the Fort are entrusted to my men, I will pay my respects and do nothing against the wishes of Your Majesty." (F.—Q.) If we could trace the 'happenings' mentioned by Aurangzeb, much light would be thrown on his subsequent conduct.

When Fazil Khan came for the third time bearing Shahjahan's letter, he was accompanied by Khalilullah Khan. A reply was communicated to Fazil Khan, while

23. K. K. II. 31.

Khalilullah Khan was retained by Aurangzeb, who in a private interview discussed 'matters of state' with him [24] Aqil Khan, on the contrary, says, that when Fazil was waiting outside for a reply he was told that Khalilullah had been placed under arrest, and that he must return alone to Shahjahan and inform him of Aurangzeb's inability to have an interview with the Emperor. Why Aurangzeb arrested Khalilullah Khan is not explained. Nobles were flocking to him one by one, and there was no reason for any dissimulation.

Kamboh and Aqil Khan have given us some letters that passed between the father and the son. The correspondence shows that it was Shahjahan who invited Aurangzeb to an interview, and that Aurangzeb was at first willing to pay his respects to the Emperor. But, as Kamboh writes, some mischievous people put a different meaning on His Majesty's intentions, turned the mind of the prince against the Emperor, and Aurangzeb refused to see his father. A contemporary historian, however, gives a different version. "It was his (Aurangzeb's) intention that he should pay his respects to His Majesty at an auspicious moment and tender apologies for all that had happened. But as His Majesty had great regard for Dara Shikoh, *he did not, for the sake of his (i. e. Dara's) feelings, consent to receive Aurangzeb's respect and homage.* The King (Aurangzeb), therefore, gave up the intention of visiting His Majesty (Shahjahan). [25]

Shahjahan refuses to see Aurangzeb.

It is possible that Shahjahan may have at first refused to see the face of Aurangzeb, who brought so much trouble on his beloved son but when saner counsels prevailed, and

24. K. T. 380—a.

25 K. T. 380-b. K. T. differs from all other contemporary records in this respect.

he invited Aurangzeb to an interview, the latter was filled with nameless apprehensions.

That Aurangzeb's fears were not baseless is proved, apart from Shahjahan's subsequent conduct, by Manucci, a partisan of Dara, who fought for him at the battle of Samugarh.

Plots to murder Aurangzeb.

"Shahjahan," he writes, 'determinated to play a game of finesse with Aurangzeb, a supreme master in that line. To this end he sent a eunuch called Almas with a statement that he knew well enough the evil condition and small capacity of Dara. He was delighted at the arrival of his son Aurangzeb, and, out of the special love he bore to him, he had granted him the vast territories of the Deccan. He had a great longing to converse with him in person, and communicate to him several plans that must be carried out to repress the disorders in the Empire, and he was awaiting his appearance, having the greatest longing to embrace him. All this was said to draw Aurangzeb into the fortress, *and without a shadow of doubt, he meant to murder him if he went there.* He had previously made all preparations in secret. There were many strong limbed Tartar, Qalmak and Uzbak women in his guard, all skilled in the use of arms. These would have slain Aurangzeb with their matchlocks, arrows and swords. But the wily Aurangzeb, the very quintessence of deceit, quite foresaw that he ought not to trust in the words of Shahjahan, and knew thoroughly that Begam Sahib (Jahanara) was very fond of Dara, and always present with her father, and would never cease exerting herself in every possible way for his (Dara's) cause, as against him (Aurangzeb). He had no need of listening to words. Thus he declined to risk himself.'" 26 Bernier too is of opinion that Aurangzeb would have lost his life, had he visited Shahjahan inside the Fort.

Surrender of the Fort.

Aurangzeb became convinced, that as long as the Emperor had any authority, he would be working for Dara, which he believed to be dangerous to his own safety. This consideration prompted him to demand the surrender of the Fort; when it was refused, the attack on the citadel was launched. Shahjahan prepared for a siege, but could not hold out owing to the paucity of the garrison

26 Storia, I. 291.

and the scarcity of fresh water. There were a number of wells in the Fort but their water did not suit the palate of the Emperor, who loved the cold Jamna water, access to which had been cut off by the besieging army. Shahjahan wrote an extremely touching letter to Aurangzeb, who sent the curt reply. "It is your own doing."[27] The Emperor, realising the futility of further resistance, consented to surrender the Fort. The gates of the citadel were at last opened, and Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, waited on his grandfather. The old officials in the Fort were replaced by Aurangzeb's men, and Shahjahan virtually became a prisoner. He was no more the Emperor of Hindustan.

Aurangzeb was once more invited to visit Shahjahan, but as he went out in a triumphal procession through the city, a man, named Naher-dil, appeared on the scene, and handed him a secret letter that Shahjahan had entrusted to him for transmission to Dara. It ran thus: "Dara Shikoh! Be confident and remain at Shahjahanabad (Delhi). Do not move further, as I will myself finish the affair here."[28]

On receipt of this communication, the interview was dropped, and a strict watch was kept on all the servants and attendants of Shahjahan. Khafi Khan writes, "Aurangzeb twice intended to visit his venerable father to tender his apologies and ask for his forgiveness. But when he saw that His Majesty was wholly devoted to Dara, and matters had gone beyond rectification, he cancelled his visit and sent a message of apology through Prince Azam accompanied by Taqarrub Khan and Islam Khan."[29]

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27 Sarkar. II. 80. British Museum Ms. No. 18881.

28 Aqil Khan, 61; M. U. II. 697.

29 K. K. II 34.

Though Shahjahan was shorn of all authority, a hope still flickered in his breast that he would be able to wreak vengeance on the son who had ruined Dara. With this end in view, he sent secret letters to Shuja, Murad, Dara and Mahabat Khan. Though Bernier and Manucci think that the letter produced by Nahar-dil was a forgery, yet Shahjahan's conduct seems compromising beyond doubt. In a letter to Mahabat Khan, the Subadar of Kabul, he mourns over his own fate, and says:

Shahjahan sends secret letters.

"My Dara Shikoh will be approaching Lahore There is no dearth of treasure at Lahore and men and horses are abundant at Kabul............. It is proper that the brave general should hasten to Lahore with an army, and, siding with Dara Shikoh Baba, range himself against the *two wretched sons*, punish them for their misdeeds and release me.................... *And I have written to my eldest son*, that giving himself up entirely to him (Mahabat Khan), he should think that his welfare lies in obedience to that eminent general." (K. K. II. 35-37).

Aurangzeb's strict watch over the servants of the palace, and the personal attendants of Shahjahan has been severely criticised. But as the dethroned monarch persisted in smuggling letters to different people through the agency of his confidential eunuchs, Aurangzeb saw no other remedy save their removal from their places. He writes to Shahjahan,

Aurangzeb's precautions.

"Though I have repeatedly made a request that the despatch of inflammatory letters should be stopped, no notice has been taken, and Your Majesty, distinctly made it clear to me that I should not expect anything which a son should from a father. This is evidenced by the note handed to me by Huri Khanum. In this case, if for the sake of precaution, I do not keep the eunuchs who pass the letters away from Your Majesty, what else can I do? I wish that Your Majesty, taking pity on these poor fellows, will desist from a course which can result in nothing save further trouble." (*Adab, 366-a,*)

Shahjahan, however, would not listen to any protests. He secretly sent a letter to Shuja in Hindi which was intercepted. Aurangzeb told his father that his brothers were

doing their utmost in consequence of his incitement and with fatal result. He implored Shahjahan to understand the real situation, and intimated to him that, on account of his hostile attitude, he had no course open but to take necessary precautions.[30] But Shahjahan was not amenable to reason. He persisted in his actions and Aurangzeb repeatedly warned him of the consequences. In a letter to Shahjahan, he writes: "I have repeatedly asked Your Majesty, that you should stop sending inflammatory letters. Though Your Majesty is all wisdom, yet as you have clearly written to me that I should not expect such a thing from you, I am forced to call the mischievous Khawja-Saras away from you. Why does Your Majesty remember Khusro Parwez now, though before your accession, you sent him to the valley of destruction, in spite of the fact that there was no danger from him[31]. What is my fault if I bring to my mind all the enmity which I have had to face from certain people. I have repeatedly made it clear, that in marching to Agra, I had no intention of ousting the King of Islam, and God is my witness that such a sinful and unholy thought never entered my mind. In the beginning of your illness, when the eldest prince, who had no distinguishing features of a Musalman, took up the reins of the Government and raised the standard of heresy and infidelity, I took upon myself the religious duty of ousting him. As Your Majesty, on account of prejudice and unmindful of political conditions, wanted the eldest prince to propagate heresy, I determined to make a Jihad against him." (Adab. 367-a.)

Shahjahan wrote to Aurangzeb enumerating all his faults and misdeeds. In his reply Aurangzeb told him that he had never been guilty of airing his virtues. On the contrary, he had always acknowledged his faults and had taken pains to please him. But on account of Dara, who knew no art except that of flattery, and whose tongue was never in accord with his heart, truth remained undiscriminated from falsehood, and right from wrong, and he (Aurangzeb) was never thought worthy of trust or kindness. He, however,

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30 Adab, 366—b ; K. K. II. 103.

31 Khusro was with Shahjahan in the Deccan when the latter informed Jahangir of the death of the Khusro on account of colic, though it was suspected that Shahjahan had him murdered.

hoped that as long as he lived, nothing but good would come from him. (*Adab 364-a.*)

Aurangzeb explains his position.

Aurangzeb in almost every letter repeatedly tries to make his position clear and begs Shahjahan's pardon. A perusal of the letters is enough to convince the reader of Aurangzeb's sincerity. It is difficult to convey the tone and spirit of letters in a summary, but I will quote one more letter to explain Aurangzeb's point of view.

"As long as power was vested in your venerable hands,' writes Aurangzeb, "obedience was my passion, and I never went beyond my limit, for which the All-knowing God is my witness. But owing to the illness of Your Majesty the prince, usurping all authority and bent upon propagating the religion of the Hindus and the idolators and upon suppressing the faith of the Prophet, had brought about chaos and anarchy throughout the Empire, and no one had the courage to speak the truth to Your Majesty. Believing himself to be the rightful ruler, he (Dara) deposed your august Majesty, as has been mentioned in my previous letters. Consequently, I started from Burhanpur, lest I be held responsible in the next world for not providing a remedy for the disorders that were cropping up throughout the country. At that time, excepting that enemy of the true faith (Dara), siding with whom is a real sin, there was no one between us As victory is never gained without God's help, which is the result of true obedience, please notice how Divine assistance came to my help. God forbid, that with Your Majesty's connivance, the theories of the apostate (Dara) become translated into practice, and the world get darkened with infidelity!

Under the present circumstances, thanks are due to the Master of Fate for whatever has been brought about! All that I owe to you for my up-bringing is far beyond any adequate expression of gratitude on the part of my poor self, and I cannot on any account forget your kindness and my responsibilities, and allow myself, for the sake of this short life, to create any rancour in your heart. Whatever happened was due to the will of God, and for the good of the country and the nation." (*Adab 363—b.*)

The letters of Aurangzeb, apart from their historical value, possess an unrivalled literary grace. His letters to Shahjahan are always couched in respectful terms, and even

when he has to say something unpalatable, he keeps himself within the bounds of etiquette. If we compare the letters of Aurangzeb with those of his rebellious son, Akbar, the difference in tone and temper is marked and clear. [32]

Jewels.

After the old Emperor had been shorn of his authority, there were many wrangles between Shahjahan and Aurangzeb for the possession of jewels in the Agra Fort. It seems that Dara, at the time of his flight, had left jewellery worth about 27 lacs in the Fort. Aurangzeb demanded its surrender. Shahjahan was unwilling to part either with Dara's property or with the State-jewels. Aurangzeb informed him that the royal treasures were not private property but were reserved for the good of the people for which reason no *zakat* was paid on them. He further added that out of regard for him, the theologians of the day did not place the truth before His Majesty.

No doubt the aged Emperor must have shed tears of blood at his dire helplessness, but beyond certain precautionary measures necessitated by the circumstances, Shahjahan was always treated with respect. The old eunuchs were, after a time, sent back to the Fort, and explicit instructions were given to Fazil Khan to provide Shahjahan with everything that he demanded. (*Adab 199.*)

Shahjahan won over.

There were beyond doubt restrictions in the beginning, but soon Shahjahan was so much won over, that Bernier remarks :

"And this was the effect of the obliging letters, full of respect and submission which he often wrote to his father, consulting him often as his oracle and expressing a thousand cares for him; sending him also incessantly some pretty present or other whereby Shahjahan was so much gained that he also wrote very often to Aurangzeb,

32 Latters of Akbar in possession of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

touching the Government and State affairs, and of his own accord, sent him some of those jewels which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the first time he should again ask for them." (Berneir, 70.)

The dethronement of Shahjahan is an event that has evoked forceful comment from historians. It is not realised that Aurangzeb was urged from one step to another until it culminated in the great tragedy, the seed of which had been laid in the distant Deccan when Aurangzeb began his march northward. As previously noticed, the Mughal officers serving with him had pressed him for a declaration of policy. Only two alternatives lay before him. Either he had to contest the throne, if the Emperor was dead, or remain in his place in the Deccan; in the latter case every officer would have deserted him, and he would have been overwhelmed by the Sultans of the Deccan who bore him no love. The despatch of an army by Dara to bar his path was, in my opinion, a great tactical blunder. The advice given by some of the nobles to Shahjahan to let the princes come to Agra was sound and reasonable, though Khafi Khan hints that it was based on partiality for Aurangzeb. If instead of allowing Dara to divide his forces, Shahjahan had concentrated his army at Agra under Dara, and gone out to meet the princes in person, he would have rendered their activities innocuous. No officer would have dared to fight Shahjahan if he had taken command of the army at Samugarh. Dara's defeat near Agra gave a new complexion to the situation. The nobles siding with Aurangzeb had taken a great risk. When their efforts were crowned with success, it was their supreme interest to maintain Aurangzeb in power. Realising the superiority of Aurangzeb over his brothers, even the partisans of Dara flocked to him. After they had committed themselves to Aurangzeb, the nobles would not have dared to face Shahjahan again, had the Emperor retained his power. Circumstances,

therefore, compelled the nobles of the Court to use every means for divesting Shahjahan of all symbols of authority. It is a sad commentary on the political conditions of the day that though Shahjahan was loved and respected by his subjects not one man rose to his rescue. The responsibility, therefore, for the tragic events that followed, rests not only on Aurangzeb, but also on Rajas and nobles who, bound by a common tie of self-interest, were anxious to see the *denouement* of their own doings.

More about Dara.

We left Dara trudging along the road to Delhi with a meagre following in the stillness of the night. After reaching the capital he was joined by a remnant of his beaten army, which he immediately began to reorganise. But he found his position untenable in view of the unrelenting pursuit of his adversary Aurangzeb, as soon as he had settled matters at Agra, and disposed of Murad's designs, set out with a strong army, bent on giving no breathing time to his foe. The hapless fugitive was hounded from place to place, from Delhi to Lahore, from Lahore to Multan, and from Ajmere to Ahmadabad, from Ahmadabad to Sindh, from Sindh to Bhakkar, until at last, reduced to extremity, he went over to Malik Jiwan, the Zemindar of Dadar—a place not far from the Bolan Pass on the north western frontier of India. The unfortunate Dara, who had gone to Dadar to enjoy the hospitality he expected from one whom he had benefited in his hour of need, was treacherously attacked, bound hand and foot, and handed over to the officers of Aurangzeb.* He was brought to Delhi and paraded through the town on an elephant. The sight of the royal prince, once the darling of the people, and now condemned and exposed to the public gaze in a miserable attire, could not but draw

* I have omitted the details of the battle near Ajmere in which Dara was routed.

tears and touch that chord of sympathy which every human heart feels for the fallen. A slight disturbance caused some flutter in the city, but calm was soon restored.

Dara prays for mercy.

Dara, though certain of his fate, wrote a beseeching letter to his brother, Aurangzeb, now the Emperor Alamgir, for forgiveness and mercy. Magnanimity demanded generous pardon, but revenge came in and upset the balance. Alamgir recollected all the sufferings, humiliations and insults he had received from Dara; how every move of his had been thwarted, and Dara's systematic backbiting had deprived him of his father's favour. He remembered Dara's machinations in the war with Bijapur and Golkunda and all the calumnies heaped upon him by Shahjahan, who blind in his love for Dara, and prompted by his mischievous insinuations, had developed an insensate prejudice against him.

During the illness of Shahjahan, Dara had snatched victory out of his hands, and leaving him in the lurch, had made every preparation to ruin him; the army had been peremptorily recalled from the Deccan, and his *Jagir* taken away from him without any cause or reason. All this came back to him and he reflected. Dara, though shorn of his power, could not, and would not, remain content with his lot, and with Shahjahan still alive, and ever ready to risk everything for his dear son, he thought he would be planting thorns in his own pillow if he left Dara alive. Nobles and *Amirs* would be found in plenty to take up the lost cause, and factious parties were sure to develop. Besides, Dara's religious propensities were extremely unpalatable to Aurangzeb, who saw in them a danger to Islam.

Dara's execution.

The security and the peace of the country, and the political conditions then prevailing, were also factors to be considered. A decree or *Fatwa* was obtained from the theologians according to

the Muslim law against Dara and he was sentenced to death on the charge of apostasy.[33]

Though the ecclesiastical decree condemned Dara simply for his heresies, yet Aurangzeb has truthfully allowed his view-point to be indicated in the official history published under his authority.

"The pillars of Faith apprehended disturbances from his (Dara's) life. The Emperor, therefore, out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, and *also for reasons of State*, considered it unlawful to allow him to remain alive." (*Alamgirnama.*)

The hand of almost every Mughal Emperor from Akbar downward is soiled with blood and it seems as if Aurangzeb could not avoid the effects of the hereditary tendencies.

Was Dara a heretic?

Though Dara was condemned as a heretic by the theologians of the day, it will not be fair to say that he was an apostate from Islam. Though he undoubtedly used expressions of questionable propriety, and according to his own admission, had abjured outward Islam and refused to derive guidance from anyone except the promptings of his own heart, it would be difficult to draw an inference of apostacy from his works as a whole. His effusions should not be taken too seriously. Though he aspired to be a great author, his motives were more political than literary or artistic. His egoïsm was responsible for some of his extravagant views, which were sometimes more foolish than original.

Dara's views on prayer.

Dara's casuistic indiscretions are evidenced by his views on prayer. He held that distress or calamity does the work of prayer for the immature, while an *Arif Kamil* (one having knowledge of Godhead) has no need for prayer.

33 *Khafi*, II. p. 87.

He based his argument on the Quranic verse, "Pray God till you are convinced." He had, therefore, dispensed with the prayers and fasts enjoined by Islam[34]. Though Dara prided himself on being an *Arif-i-Kamil*, his immaturity, foolishness, and gullibility are evidenced by an incident which happened during the siege of Qandhar. A man was produced before him who claimed to control the spirits and genii. He demanded some old wines and a woman of a particular type with whose blood a charm was to be written. This charm, it was alleged, would have the effect of mobilising the genii who would reduce the forts in forty days. After a great search, a woman of the required description was secured, but it was found later on that she was the person of whom the controller of the genii was greatly enamoured. The charlatan lived in dissipation for a few weeks, but when he found that Dara's artillery would not be able to reduce the forts, he quietly performed the vanishing trick. Dara's credulity became the talk of the camp.[35]

His gullibility.

It must be admitted, that the theologians were not without justification in claiming Dara's head on a charger. Apart from the perennial conflict between orthodoxy and sufism, the theologians had borne with patience the mischievous activities of Dara, who, according to them, did not hold the holy Qoran in proper esteem. He had minimised the importance of their Holy Book and exaggerated the significance of the sacred literature of the Hindus—an unpardonable sin in the eyes of the ecclesiastics. How far the latter were independent in their judgment, and how far they dreaded the frowns of the reigning sovereign, is a matter of pure speculation. But it is possible that the theologians themselves were moved by

34 Tarikh-i-Hind, VIII 8.

35 K. K. I. 717-25; T. H. VII. 444; *Lataiful Akhbar.*

political motives and wanted to make the execution of Dara an example of the assertion of their authority.

Sarmad.

The fact that Sarmad was a great favourite of Dara is a ground for believing that the prince was much influenced by the Sufi who went about stark naked. Sarmad justified his nudity by the precedent of the Prophet Isaiah who, in his old days, used to go about naked. According to Sarmad, "the sons of Israel (*i. e.* the Jews) were not enjoined to cover the private parts of their body." His appeal to a Talmudic tradition in justification of his nakedness and his novel views about God are indicative of the fact that he had not altogether shed his Judaistic proclivities. "According to the Jews," says Sarmad, "God is a material substance and the human body is a symbol of His materiality .... It is written in the Pentateuch that the soul is an ethereal substance symbolised in a human form. Rewards and punishments take place in this world: for instance, if a man lives for a hundred and twenty years and then dies, his whole life amounts to a day, as it were. When he dies, it becomes night and his body is divided between the mineral, the vegetable and the animal worlds. After one hundred and twenty years, night ends and dawn appears. If an atom of a man's body is in the east, and another in the west, all unite together and the body comes to life again. If it again lives, say, for a hundred years, night will follow day, and, as has been explained above, rewards and punishments take place in this world." [36]

Sarmad was a great poet; and though we may be thrilled by the mystic fervour of his verses, and saints

36 *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*, 242—245 (Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow.)

Sarmad was originally a Persian Jew. After his conversion to Islam, he took the name of Muhammad Said. When he came to India, at Tatta, he became infatuated with a Hindu lad, named Abhay Chand, and

and Sufis might be moved to rapturous ecstasy, his views are fundamentally opposed to the cardinal principles of Islam. According to the author of the *Dabistan*, considerable exotic element has found its way in Islam. Though the remark is too sweeping, it will be admitted that anyone who holds queer views finds it easier to pose as a Sufi and propagate his extravagant theories than to pass under a new label. Sarmad, however, challenged orthodoxy by his words and deeds. Dara must have imbibed some of Sarmad's views, and I suspect that his hesitation in not revealing some of his own views—as indicated in his letter to Sheikh Mohib-ul-lah of Allahabad, quoted in Chapter I—was due to their unorthodoxy. Some of Sarmad's utterances went even against the creed of Sufism, and to popular orthodoxy Dara's views were as obnoxious as that of his naked preceptor.

The *Aurangnama*—a book in verse dealing with the war of succession—depicting the last scene of Dara's execution, however, records how the luckless prince repeated the *kalema* (formula of Muslim faith) while in the throes of death. There is no reason to disbelieve the testimony of the author of this book.

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casting off his clothes, sat down at the door of his beloved. When Abhey Chand's father became convinced of Sarmad's purity of love, he took him into his house. Sarmad came to Delhi and became a favourite of Dara. His verses are thought-provoking and of a very high order. It is difficult to determine the exact views of Sarmad. The author of "*Dabistan*" has given an account of Sarmad in the Chapter dealing with the Jews, and whatever the author says about them, he puts it in the mouth of Sarmad. The views expressed in "*Dabistan*" therefore, may be both of Sarmad and the Jews or of the Jews alone. They are extremely novel and unorthodox. Sarmad was executed in consequence of a decree of theologians. It is alleged by some authors that he was executed for being a favourite of Dara. But if Aurangzeb could forgive Jaswant and others who fought against him, why did he single out Satmad for capital punishment? From the point of view of theologians, his views were sufficient for his condemnation.

Apart from the *Aurangnama*, the works of Dara disclose a respectful and devotional altitude *vis-a-vis* the Prophet, a fact that demolishes the theory of apostasy. Dara, however, was a slave of moods and motives. This explains in turn his eclectic sincerity, his rationalism, his gullibility and his extravagant views about dogmatic Islam. There can be no manner of doubt that he was often indiscreet, and was not blessed with ripe judgment.

Whether or not Dara was a heretic, it must be observed that neither in prosperity, nor in adversity did he prove himself a capable man. He had neither the capacities of a leader, nor the dash of a soldier, nor the quietism of a philosopher.

The execution of Sarmad has been represented as a persecution because the political conditions of the day have not been properly appreciated by the critics of Aurangzeb. As long as a popular saint or preacher kept clear of current politics, he had nothing to fear and was immune from interference. But if he propagated subversive doctrines under the protection of a powerful prince, he could not escape retribution if his patron lost all power. Jahangir levied a heavy fine on Guru Arjun, the fourth Sikh Guru, because he had blessed Khusrau. As the Guru was unable to pay the fine, he was tortured to death by the fine-collectors, perhaps against the wishes of Jahangir.[37] Sheikh Nizam of Thanesar was forced to leave India for the same reason. Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind, who claimed to be the Mahdi and who dragged people "into infidelity and impiety," as Jahangir says, was imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. Sheikh Ibrahim Baba, whose doings were regarded by Jahangir as "disreputable and foolish," was sent to the State prison of Chunar.[38] In the time of

37 Dabistan, 234.

38 History of Jahangir, 443.

Firoz Shah Tughlaq, Ahmad Behari, who claimed prophethood, and Rukn-ud-din, who declared himself the Mahdi, and many others were severely dealt with because they preached subversive doctrines.[39]

Though Sarmad's verses are fragrant as a fresh rose, there can be no doubt that under Dara's protection he propagated extravagant views and, according to Anand Ram Mukhlis, "frequently words opposed to the Holy Law were uttered by him."[40] We have already dealt with the reaction that had set in among the Musalmans against the intolerant policy of Akbar. In the time of Aurangzeb the pendulam had swung to the other extreme, and the theologians of the day were in no mood to tolerate a man who not only violated the rules of decency, but ridiculed the laws of Islam.

Al Hallaj

The execution of Dara and Sarmad reminds us of Al Hallaj, who was executed during the reign of Al Muqtadir, the Abbaside Khalif. By the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era, Sufism had not been integrally welded into the faith of Islam and the exponents of Muslim mysticism were meeting with bitter opposition. What distinguished the Sufis from the generality of Muslims was their conception of the soul's relation to God. Whereas the orthodox believed that the whole duty of man was to perform the rites prescribed by God and obey His commands as proclaimed in the Book, "the Sufis felt, temperamentally, that real religion consisted in the preparation of the soul to receive the Divine contact. This preparation took the form of rigorous asceticism and an extreme quietism.' The Sufis did not pay much attention to the external rites of Islam. They taught that "the mystic should reach out, as

39 Elliot, III, 379-381; T. H. II, 227.

40 Anand Ram Mukhlis, translated by Irvine in Indian Magazine, 1903 page 120.

it were, to meet the Divine touch," thus modifying the current cult of complete passivity. Apart from the doctrines mentioned above, Al Hallaj claimed that 'he was supernaturally endowed as being the instrument through which God worked His will.'

There is some similarity between the views of Al Hallaj and those of Sarmad and Dara. Both Sarmad and Dara claimed spiritual eminence and propagated doctrines that ran counter to popular beliefs.

At first judgment was pronounced against Al Hallaj in his absence, but when he was captured, after remaining five years in hiding, a Court of Enquiry was held to try his case. Ali Ibn Isa, the famous Vazir, was one of the judges before whom Al Hallaj was examined. It is said that Ali was secretly in sympathy with Al Hallaj and, consequently, professed to find him ignorant of both sacred and profane knowledge. Seeing the impossibility of exculpating Al Hallaj altogether, Ali chose to condemn him not as a heretic but as a charlatan. Al Hallaj was sentenced to a punishment of derogation. His beard was shaved off, and he was beaten with the flat of a sword, after which he was exposed for four days in a pillory and then imprisoned in chains. After a time, however, there was a second trial, and though an eminent jurist, Ibn Al Bahlul could find no trace of heresy in the teachings of Al Hallaj, the fear of a popular rising induced the Khalif to order his execution. [41]

Had Dara merely been a founder of a new philosophy, it is possible an Ali might have been found to plead his cause and Dara would have been condemned not as a heretic but as a charlatan.

The history of the remaining participants in the war of succession will now be briefly described.

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41 See Massignon : *Al Hallaj; Life and Times of Ali Ibn Isa* by Harold Bowen, Cambridge University Press, 1928.

Story of Murad.

Murad from the very outset wanted to march hastily to Agra before Dara consolidated his position. He looted Surat and proclaimed himself Emperor at his capital, Ahmedabad. He wrote letter after letter to Aurangzeb trying to persuade him to define his policy and to shape his programme; but the latter did not wish to compromise his position, and wrote back to Murad condemning his behaviour and advising him to be more prudent.

But the crowned king of Ahmedabad became impatient, and wrote to Aurangzeb, "If that kind brother marches to Agra, well and good; otherwise, on no account will I allow any further delay." A series of letters which have been preserved give us a clear idea of the temporising attitude of Aurangzeb and the rashness and impetuosity of Murad.

Aurangzeb wanted to cement the alliance between the three brothers, who were filled with a common hatred of Dara, but he had no desire or intention to play a secondary part in the drama. Some historians maintain that Aurangzeb solemnly promised Murad to set him on the throne after he had extirpated the heretical Dara, which was the sole object of his life.

The text of the agreement between Aurangzeb and Murad is, however, preserved in *Adab* and runs as follows:—

Pact between Murad and Aurangzeb.

"He (Murad) has agreed, on his faith, that after the extirpation of that enemy of religion and State (Dara), and the restoration of peace and the settlement of affairs, adhering to the path of unity and strength, he will, at all times and places and in all works, be (my) supporter and partner, the friend of my friends, the foe of my foes, and in no way shall he go against my wishes; and out of all the hereditary dominions, whatever is left to him at his request,

he will remain content. Therefore this is written that as long as nothing is done by that brother against sincerity and oneness of purpose, my affection and kindness for him will ever be on the increase. Considering our gains and losses as common to both, I will at all times fulfil the condition of help and support, unity and oneness of aim, and I will ever show my kindness and favour to that brother as usual, nay, even more, after the achievement of our object and the overthrow of the unacceptable apostate (Dara). Keeping my promise, and, as previously arranged, leaving the provinces of Lahore, Kashmir, Kabul, Multan, Bhakkar, Thatta and the whole of the territory as far as the Gulf of Oman to that distinguished brother, I will have no hesitation in this matter; and after crushing the apostate, and uprooting the thorns and shrubs of his mischief from the garden of the State, in which work his (Murad's) help is necessary, I shall give him leave to start for his country and shall cause no delay in that respect. For the veracity of these statements I take God and the Prophet as witnesses, and, for the satisfaction of that brother, I stamp this document with my seal and the mark of my five fingers. I hope that he will also act up to the promises and agreements arrived at between us.[42]" This pact, written by Aurangzeb, disposes of the theory about his humble intentions. Aurangzeb was not the person to be guided and dominated by a man like Murad. Throughout the war of succession,

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42 *Adab—Folio 78—a and b.* I think the pact was concluded between Murad and Aurangzeb after the illness of Shahjahan, as in the text we find a reference to "the present campaign"

(برادر بجان برابر درین مهم عالیت مهمود توفیق موافقت یافته بودند)

At the same time: referring to the division of the country, the pact uses the word, "as was previously arranged." Do the words refer to the time when Aurangzeb met Murad at Doraha or to the time between Shahjahan's illness and the writing of the pact? Both interpretations are possible, but I am inclined to the latter view.

he not only assumed but played the premier role. After the rout of Dara's army at Samugarh, Shahjahan sent the famous sword and presents, not to Murad—the self-proclaimed king—but to Aurangzeb, although the former had fought most valiantly, and, by a timely move, had hastened the victory. All the nobles of the Court proferred their devotion and homage to Aurangzeb, and not to the "Padishah" of Ahmedabad, whose soldiers, undisciplined and refractory, soon began to loot and plunder the city of Agra.

Murad's duplicity.

Though Murad had formed an alliance with Aurangzeb, yet his mind was not at ease. Murad met Aurangzeb on the 14th of April, 1658, and on the same day, or a day or two afterwards, Aurangzeb received a letter from Jahanara Begum sent through her *Bakhsi*, Muhammad Faruq. Jahanara had advised Aurangzeb to desist from a fight in the month of Ramzan and not to proceed any further. Aurangzeb wrote a reply on his own behalf, and Murad wrote another in his as well as Aurangzeb's name, indicating their determination to march to Agra. (*Masum*). But it seems that Murad secretly wrote a letter to Shahjahan, apologising for his past conduct, and promising to obey the commands of the Emperor. "On account of great shame," the letter runs, "I have no face to repent, and this is why I have not yet submitted any petition of regret and apology. But as I learn from the letter of my august sister sent to my elder brother through Muhammad Faruq Bakhshi, that the doors of forgiveness are not yet shut against us, repenting of all my sins and humbly apologising for my misdeeds, I pray that Your Majesty may be pleased to forgive my faults, as I will obey whatever command is issued to me."[43]

43 F. Q. The date of the letter is given 9th Rabi-ul-Awal. But it is clearly a wrong date, as Muhammad Faruq reached Aurangzeb's camp on the 21st of Rajab 1068 A. H.

In the open letter given to the Bakhshi, Murad spoke of his determination to proceed to Agra, while secretly he was trying to pacify Shahjahan. His duplicity is patent enough.

Murad's plans.

After reaching Agra, while Aurangzeb was busy corresponding with Shahjahan, Murad was getting restless over the growing power of his brother, who had now assumed supreme authority. The courtiers pointed out to the 'king' of Ahmadabad how Aurangzeb was monopolising all power to which he had no greater right than Murad, without whose assistance the victories at the Nerbada and Samugarh would never have been possible. Egged on by their fulsome flattery, and prompted by his own vanity, Murad began to show signs of discontent. Why should he not himself, he thought, be the future Emperor of India, and leave a name behind him unsurpassed in history? All the pomp and glory of kingship flashed before his mind, and he pictured himself sitting on the Peacock Throne with a host of nobles and *Amirs* making their obeisance, and bowing to his august person. He made a secret resolve and started shaping his plans. He must first have men and money; consequently he wrote to Aurangzeb for his stipulated share of the booty agreed upon before the undertaking.[44] Aurangzeb sent him twenty lacs of rupees on account, and assured him that he would hand over the allotted provinces of Kabul, Punjab and Kashmir soon after Dara's extermination. With this money he began to increase his army, and seduce officers from Aurangzeb's camp. Not to be behind Aurangzeb in wielding sovereign authority, he bestowed titles and *Mansabs* on his followers, gave them free *jagirs*, and acted as if he had ascended the throne.

44 Aqil Khan—p. 25.

Murad's conduct, and the behaviour of his soldiers, can be summed up in the words of a historian who says. "All the cash and property that he (Murad) could get hold of, he immediately appropriated, and freely distributed among his worthless followers. After the victory at Samugarh, he took all the contents of the treasury at Agra, and gave a shield-ful of money to each of his men."[45] His army was now swelling daily, and the open attitude of rivalry that he took up against his brother reached such proportions that it alarmed Aurangzeb. After settling matters at Agra, he was hastening towards Delhi in pursuit of Dara, when he was informed that Murad intended to stay back at Agra. "At this stage information was brought that Sultan Murad, ignoring the alliance, did not march from Agra, and that many men of Aurangzeb's army, such as Ibrahim Khan, son of the Amir-ul Umra and others, had taken up service with him (Murad), and that he had collected about 20,000 cavalry under his command. Many others, tempted by *mansabs*, had deserted the royal army and joined Murad."[46]

"The envy of Murad was excited," writes Sujan Singh, "when he found that power has passed into the hands of Aurangzeb. Through the instigation of flatterers, he seduced some nobles and granted them *mansabs* and titles; and having collected material for disloyalty and trouble, began to create mischief................Aurangzeb protested. As after leaving Akbarabad, he kept himself behind the victorious army and was awaiting his chance (to attack), and had not visited Aurangzeb after the victory over Dara, he (Aurangzeb , therefore, thought it prudent to make him a prisoner."[47]

45 *Amal Saleh.*
46 Aqil Khan.
47 K.T2.—39.

Murad had at first decided to stay on at Agra, but he soon changed his mind and followed Aurangzeb in a way that betrayed the state of his mind. His soldiers and followers, to whom discipline and order were unknown, began to revel over the prospect of a future commotion, in which their looting proclivities and plotting tendencies could find free play. Aurangzeb had no control over the unruly rabble of Murad ; he could not admonish them for their behaviour. He was in a dilemma ; but what precipitated the imprisonment of Murad was the discovery of a plot to entrap him. If Masum's story is to be believed, Shahjahan once more attempted to set one brother against the other. Shahjahan, who was disgusted with Aurangzeb, wrote a secret letter with his own hand to Sultan Murad and sent it through a confidential servant. The contents of the letter were as follows : "I have conferred the sovereignty of the whole of India on my illustrious son (Murad). I enjoin you to be most careful and patient in this matter and not to divulge this secret to anyone, however intimate. After a few days, invite your brother (Aurangzeb) and his son to your camp on the plea of a banquet and see the last of them ; and then have the *Khutba* recited in your own name, and assume the Imperial title, which I bestow on you of my own free will. You should perform this important task with the greatest caution."[48] This letter reached Murad, but through absent-mindedness, it was placed in a book, and being accidentally discovered by one of his attendants, it came to Aurangzeb.

Plot against Aurangzeb.

We have no means of verifying this account, as Masum is our sole authority for the incident. But the duplicity of Murad as indicated by his secret letter to Shahjahan is an evidence against him. Whatever may have

48 *Tarikh Shah Shujai*—Muhammad Masum.

been the case, the situation created by Murad was full of danger and pregnant with evil. If Aurangzeb had openly declared war against Murad, he would have been surely crushed between the two armies of Dara and Murad. The whole country would have fallen a prey to violent anarchy and internal disorder. In this case, therefore, there was only one possible solution; to remove Murad quietly from the stage where he was trying to play the role of a king. That Aurangzeb should adopt the same method for entrapping Murad, which Shahjahan had suggested to the latter, shows the curious irony of fate. Perhaps Aurangzeb took the hint and hoisted the engineer with his own petard. Murad was invited to a feast arrested and sent to Gwalior.

Murad in a written compact had undertaken to be true to Aurangzeb, who had made a stipulation that "as long as nothing was done by that brother (Murad) against sincerity and oneness of purpose, his affection and kindness for him would always increase." Murad by secretly submitting his apologies to Shahjahan and by entertaining designs upon the Mughal throne, had encroached upon Aurangzeb's rights and gone behind the pact. It was Murad who first broke the contract.

Plot to release Murad.

After a time, an attempt was made to release Murad from prison, but the plot failed. Some of the courtiers, in order to remove the lurking danger and to please Aurangzeb, hit upon a scheme for disposing of Murad. It appears that during a paroxysm of rage and ebullition of fury, Murad had killed Ali Naqi, his own minister, who had been accused of conspiracy but was really innocent. One of his sons was now persuaded to demand justice and to file a complaint in the Law Courts.

"Some well-wishers (of the State or Aurangzeb)," says Khafi Khan, "prompted the sons of Ali Naqi, whom Mu-

hammad Murad Bakhsh had murdered, as previously related, to demand justice for their father's blood. The eldest son refused to seek vengeance, but the second, obeying the order, lodged a complaint for his father's blood in the Law Court, and at last *was subjected to royal displeasure.* It was ordered that he should apply to the Qazi (Judge). After..................the charge was proved before the Canon Law, Aurangzeb ordered that the Qazi should go to Murad with the relative of the deceased, and, after showing proof of the murder, seek the price of blood according to religious law.. As the eldest son had declined to ask for vengeance, *His Majesty, on account of his services, turned his kind attention towards him.*"[49] The Qazi however convicted Murad and he was beheaded in prison.

Shuja.

Shuja was the second son of Shahjahan. As soon as news of the Emperor's illness got abroad, Shuja crowned himself king at Rajmahal in Bengal of which he had been Governor for

49 Khafi 2—156.

Sarkar writes "At *his* (Aurangzeb's) instigation a son of Ali Naqi...............demanded justice for the shedding of their father's blood," (Vol. 2 p. 99.) This remark is not justified in view of the passages that we have quoted from Khafi Khan. The fact that the son who lodged the complaint was subjected to royal displeasure' is sufficient to exonerate Aurangzeb. The only point to be noticed is, whether Aurangzeb could have stopped the aggrieved party from claiming justice. The following incident will be found illuminating. "Farjam Barlas had betrothed his daughter to his sister's son, but, later on, owing to the bad temper of the latter, who was notorious in that respect, the engagement was broken. Thereupon, the sister asked her son that unless he killed Farjam before the King, she would not acknowledge him as her son. The boy managed to get near Farjam and killed him with one stroke. He was arrested and tried according to the Holy Law. Though the Emperor asked the heirs of the deceased (Farjam) to desist from claiming the execution of the murderer, they refused to consider his request and the boy was publicly hanged" (*Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 126.)

nearly twenty years. He then marched towards Delhi and reached Benares about the end of January, 1658. There he met the army sent by Dara under the command of his eldest son, Sulaiman Shikoh, and Raja Jai Singh. Though the enemy's camp was not far from him, Shuja had become so indolent by his continued residence in Bengal that he slept till noon, and did not even take the ordinary military precaution of stationing patrols round his camp. Sulaiman, having been informed of all this, suddenly fell on Shuja's camp and completely routed his army in February, 1658. It was with great difficulty that Shuja reached the river-bank where he sought refuge in his boats. He immediately sailed down the river, and pushed forward till he reached Munghyr.

Sulaiman followed in hot pursuit, but on reaching Munghyr, he received an urgent letter from Dara asking him to conclude peace with Shuja and hasten back to Agra. A treaty was accordingly signed by which Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar to the east of Munghyr were given to Shuja.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb had defeated Dara at Samugarh and put an end to Murad's pretensions. Aurangzeb sent a letter to Shuja adding the province of Bihar to his viceroyalty and promising him other favours. But when Shuja found that Aurangzeb was far away from the capital, he was secretly prompted by Shahjahan to make a bid for the throne. He, therefore, went to Patna and after completing his preparations, moved northward, (October, 1658.) On reaching Benares, he disgusted everyone, Hindu and Muslim, by his high-handedness in extorting nine lacs of rupees from the merchants and other citizens.[50] When Aurangzeb was informed of Shuja's movements, he wrote him a long letter, advising him to go back. "Turn back your horse of avarice, and be content with Bengal which is sufficient for a

50 K. T. 406—a.

king. I give you the province of Bihar as far as Bahadurpur. There is time yet; go back. Do you not see that Sulaiman Shikoh ousted you from Bengal, but his father was crushed by me I have been lenient enough to you. If you do not hear me, then come and do come."[51]

When Aurangzeb heard of Shuja's advance, he left the pursuit of Dara and returned to Delhi by forced marches. Meanwhile Shuja, who had taken Allahabad, was moving towards Delhi when he found Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, barring his path at Khajwah in Fatehpur district. Aurangzeb had given strict orders to his son not to hasten an encounter with Shuja. Aurangzeb probably counted on the effect of the letter he had sent to Shuja and expected that the latter would return back to Bengal. But this was not to be. Aurangzeb marched to Khajwa and arrived there on 2nd January, 1659.

The battle began on January 4th. A few hours before the break of day on the 5th of January, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur treacherously left the field of battle, looted the camp of Muhammad Sultan, and rode off towards Agra with his Rajput followers. Jaswant's desertion created a great tumult in the army, but Aurangzeb kept cool and ultimately inflicted a crushing defeat on his rival. Shuja hastily fled from the battle-field, and was relentlessly pursued by Aurangzeb's men from one place to another till he took shelter in the wild country of Arakan. Here he was massacred along with his whole family for plotting against the Burmese King.

Aurangzeb, now supreme master of the empire of Hindustan which he had gained through his pluck, perseverence, and prowess, crowned himself formally at Delhi on 5th June, 1659.

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51 *Raqqat i-Alamgiri*, Ms. No. $\frac{37}{7325}$ of Nadwatal-ulma, Lucknow. *Makatib-i-Alamgiri* by N. A. Nadvi, p. 259.

The Emperor Shahjahan used to say, "At times I fear that my eldest son (Dara Shikoh) has become the enemy of good men; Murad Baksh has set his heart on drinking; Muhammad Shuja has no good trait except contentment (*i. e.* easy good nature). But the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzeb make it necessary that he would undertake this difficult task (*viz*, ruling India.)"[52] That Shahjahan had correctly delineated the character of his favourite son is proved by an incident mentioned by Manuci. "Not content with having affronted so many, he (Dara) must needs ridicule the great soldier Mir Jumla, when he arrived at his father's court. He ordered the noble's sword that he was wearing at his waist, to be stolen as soon as he entered the royal palace by active fellows of whom he kept a number for the execution of such like tricks. In addition he ordered his buffoons several times to imitate the gait and the gestures of the said Mir Jumla, making mock of him." (Storia, I. 225—226).

We are reminded of an interview Shahjahan is said to have had with a Muslim saint some years before the war of succession.

"Who will sit on the throne after me," asked Shahjahan.

"Tell me the names of your sons," replied the saint,

"Dara is my eldest son."

"The fate of Dara (Darius) should be asked from Iskandar (Alexander the Great)."

"Shuja is my second son."

"But Shuja (meaning fearless) is not Shuja."

"What about Murad ?"

"Murad will not achieve his *Murad* (aim).

"Aurangzeb is my youngest son."

"Yes, he will be Aurangzeb (fit for the throne).[53]

52 Anecdotes of Aurangzeb 41.

53 I noted the above interview, real or imaginary, from a Ms. in the India Office Library, but I forgot to take down the name of the book.

APPENDIX A.

SHAHJAHAN'S DEATH AND AFTER

Reflections have heen cast on Aurangzeb for not performing the obsequies of his father in a manner that befitted the position of a great Emperor. Prof. Sarkar in his History of Aurangzeb writes "Jahanara had wished that the corpse might be taken to the Taj Mahal next day in a grand procession befitting the funeral of an Emperor of Delhi, the officers of the State carrying the coffin on their shoulders ; all the rich men and nobles of Agra and its environs, and all the scholars, theologians, and popular leaders of the capital, walking beside the bier with bare heads and feet; the common people in their tens of thousands forming the rear of the procession; gold and silver being scattered on both sides every now and then as they moved on. But it was not to be. Aurangzeb had not cared to come to his dying father's side, nor to send instructions for his funeral, and even his delegate, Prince Muazzam, had started too late to arrive in time for the ceremony.........So the most magnificent of the Mughal Emperors had to be carried to his last resting-place on earth by a few men—eunuchs and the like, in a manner unlike the funeral of other emperors and unworthy of his ancestry." Let us see how far this statement is justified.

According to the *Alamgirnama* (p. 926) it was on Monday, the 12th of Rajab, 1076 Hijra, that the first news of Shahjahan's illness reached Aurangzeb, who immediately sent letters to Hakim Momin at Agra asking him to do his best in treating the patient, and to send him daily bulletins. A few days later, the physician reported to Aurangzeb that Shahjahan's illness had taken a serious turn. "The royal intention was then formed that His Majesty should proceed to Agra, and paying respects to Shahjahan, should keep near him at the time of the calamitous event (*i. e.*, death). An order was, therefore, issued to the managers of household to make hasty preparation for the intended departure and to cut short many necessary arrangements. As these took several days, for the sake of precaution, His Majesty asked the eldest prince, Muhammad Muazzam, to proceed to Agra post haste so that he should be near Shahjahan until his own arrival. On the 23rd of the said month (Rajab) the prince started (for Agra)" Khafi Khan (Vol. 2 p. 186) writes, "At this time it was reported to His Majesty that Shahjahan was nearing his end. *The same day* His Majesty asked prince Muhammad Muazzam to proceed to (Agra) by *quick marches*. Before the prince could reach his destination, the news of Shahjahan's death arrived." In view of the above quotations, Sarkar's reflections that 'Aurangzeb

had not cared to come to his dying father's side, nor to send instructions for his funeral' are wholly wide of the mark.

As regards the funeral procession, it should be observed that Islam does not allow the artificialities and meaningless grandeur, which are customary among some people. The occasion requires solemnity and not the preparation of a marriage procession. The Muslims are enjoined to bury their dead as soon as possible, and the collection of "the common people in their tens of thousands, forming the rear of the procession" is a matter not of two or three hours. Nor are the Musalmans expected to walk beside any bier with bare heads and feet.

Shahjahan died a few hours before *midnight* on the 26th Rajab, 1076 H. (February 1, 1666, N. S.) and was buried in the morning (A.—N. 933). There is no 'lying-in-state' in Islam. How tens of thousands of people could have been collected within such a short time, has not been indicated.

Was the body of Shahjahan carried to the last resting place by a few men—"eunuchs and the like—in a manner unworthy of his ancestry"? We read the following in *Alamgirnama*, (p. 933). "After washing and enclosing the corpse in a shroud, they (the people) brought it outside the fort, and Hoshdar Khan, Subadar of the City, joined the procession with all the royal servants." The expression used is '*jami bandahai-i-badshahi*', which includes all servants, civil and military. We find that due respect was paid to the dead body of the deceased Emperor.

CHAPTER III.

CRITICS OF ISLAM.

Critics of Islam.

Before discussing the puritanic activities of Aurangzeb and his endeavour to follow the Laws of Islam it would be appropriate to briefly examine the principles of Islam, especially such of them as affect the rights of non-Muslims in Muslim state. The critics of Islam, ignoring the circumstances under which the Prophet lived and published his religion, and being fond of looking at things through the wrong end of the telescope, have presented a repulsive picture of the Muslim faith. According to their theory, a Musalman is like a maniac kept under control; he is constantly struggling to free himself in order to rush out with the sword in one hand and the Quran in the other to demand the recitation of the Islamic formula from every infidel in the street. He is supposed to be ever ready to pull down the temple or the church in a paroxysm of rage, if his demand is refused. When, however, his life-purpose is accomplished, he pauses for effect and then prepares himself to march straight to heaven. Such are supposed to be the characteristics of a Musalman; and anyone who endeavours to follow the laws of Islam has to pursue a mad career. As Aurangzeb attempted to follow the Islamic law, it is contended that he was bound to adopt an extremely aggressive attitude.[1]

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(1) Such is the view of Prof. Sarkar. In the third volume of his History of Aurangzeb, he has devoted a chapter to the Islamic State Church in India. 'Political disabilities of non-Muslims, zeal sanctifies plunder, Muslims demoralised by State bounties, toleration under Islam is exceptional and illegal,—these are some of the head-lines that sufficiently illustrate his point of view. His thesis is a curious pageant of argument. The learned author, it seems, based all his theories on two books, namely Hughes' Dictionary of Islam and Muir's Caliphate, and has condemned the Islamic polity for all eternity. Perhaps, it is unknown to many that Hughes was a Christian missionary; and as such it was his interest to put before the people a picture of Islam which best suited his purpose. (Foot-note continued on next page).

"Islamic theology," writes Professor Sarkar, "tells the true believer that his highest duty is to make "exertion" (*Jihad*) in the path of God," by waging war against infidel lands (*Dar-ul-harb*) till they became a part of the realm of Islam (*Dar-ul-Islam*) and their populations are converted into true believers." (2) That Islam was propagated by the sword is a charge that has been often repeated and refuted. Those who are unacquainted with the circumstances which were responsible for the rise and growth of Islam as a world power have ascribed the wonderful conquests of the Muslims to the church militant of Islam.

"Religion has often furnished to designing chieftains, among Moslems as among Christians, a pretext for the gratification of ambition. The Moslem casuists, like the

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(continued from p. 91) Prof. Sarkar has collected in one chapter all individual acts of Muhammadan tyranny and oppression from the days of Muhammad bin Qasim down to the murder of Boutras Pasha by an Egyptian Muslim. Solely relying on those events which represent but a phase in the life of every nation, the learned author has chosen to make sweeping assertions about Islam. He has arranged some incidents of Muslim history in a way that bring into prominence only the worst features of the Muslims. In his opinion, it seems, Islam was, and is, nothing but a blight in this world. Its record consists solely of plunder, rapine and slaughter. "The toleration of any sect outside the fold of orthodox Islam," says Sarkar, "is no better than compounding with sin ...If any infidel is suffered to exist in the community it is as a necessary evil and for a transitional period only.......Political and social disabilities must be imposed on him......The growth of infidel population in number and wealth would, therefore, defeat the very end of the State....Every device short of massacre in cold blood was recorted to in order to convert heathen subjects. *A religion whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as a religious duty is incompatible with the peace of the world.*"

These theories indicate the spirit in which the author has approached his subject—Islam and its principles. In the pursuit of his task, he has employed a romantic, fantastic method of presentation, rather than the penetrating technique of impartial research. Sarkar's attempt to prejudice Aurangzeb's case by denouncing Islam itself is altogether futile.

(2) Vol. III, 284—History of Aurangzeb.

Christian jurists and divines, have divided the world into two regions—the *Dar-ul-Harb* and the *Dar-ul-Islam*, the counterparts of Heathendom and Christendom. An examination, however, of the principles upon which the relations of Moslem states with non-Moslem countries were based, shows a far greater degree of liberality than has been evinced by Christian writers on International Law. It is only in recent times, and under stress of circumstances that non-Christian states have been admitted into the "comity of nations." The Moslem jurists, on the other hand, differentiate between the condition of belligerency and that of peace. The expression, *Dar-ul-Harb*, thus includes countries with which the Moslems are at war; whilst the States with which they are at peace are the *Dar-ul-Aman*. The *Harbi*, the inhabitant of the *Dar-ul-Harb*, is an alien, pure and simple. He has no right to enter Islamic States without express permission. But once he receives the *Aman* or guarantee of safety from even the poorest Moslem, he is perfectly secure from molestation for the space of one year."

"The principal directions of Mohammed, on which the Moslem laws of war are founded, show the wisdom and humanity which animated the Islamic system: 'And fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you; but transgress not (by attacking them first), for God loveth not the transgressors—Sura II. 186." (3)

The theory, therefore, that infidel lands must be conquered by sword till they become a part of the realm of Islam, is not countenanced by the holy law, which clearly enunciates, "Let there be no violence in religion."

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(3) Spirit of Islam by Ameer Ali, 176. See p. 168 et seq—The Church militant of Islam. Prof. Arnold's Preaching of Islam is a scholarly work and should be consulted by those who subscribe to Sarkar's thesis.

In a comparatively primitive age, when notions of equality where almost unknown, when principles of equitable treatment were but dimly realised, Islam established profoundly liberal and democratic principles, allowing extensive liberty to all who lived under its protection. In considering the status of a non-Muslim in Islam, we have to see whether he becomes a free citizen of the State or merely "a member of a depressed class." (4).

Zimmi, a free subject.

The actual text of the pact between the Prophet and non-Muslim tribes has been preserved in Arabic books. Its provision can be summed up in the accepted sayings of the Prophet: "Whoever torments the *zimmis* (non-Muslims) torments me..." "Whoever wrongs a *zimmi* and lays a burden upon him beyond his strength, I shall be his accuser." (5).

"The blood of the *Zimmi* is like the blood of the Muslim" says Ali, the fourth Caliph."

The following charter granted by the Prophet to the Christians has for the most part furnished the guiding principle to Muslim rulers in their dealings with the non-Muslim subjects. "To (the Christians of) Najran and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of his Prophet are extended for their lives, their religion, and their property—to those present as well as to those absent and others besides; there shall be no interference with their faith or their observances; nor any change in their rights or privileges; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric, nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his parish and they shall continue to enjoy everything great and small as heretofore; no image or cross shall be destroyed; they shall not oppress nor be oppressed; no tithes

(4) *Sarkar*, Vol. 3 p. 286.
(5) Balazuri.

shall be levied from them nor shall they be required to furnish provisions for the troops." (6)

The early Caliphs were so scrupulous in their dealings with non-Muslims that they would not allow a Muslim to acquire the land of a *zimmi* even by purchase. The enforcement of that rule was with a view to avoid 'the least semblance of high-handedness.'

According to the *Hidaya*, a commentary of the Canon Law "*a zimmi* is a *free* non-Muslim subject of a Muslim Government, who pays a poll-tax, in return for which the Muslims are responsible for his security, personal freedom, and religious toleration." (7).

In the Dictionary of Islam, (p. 711) we find the following:—"By paying the stipulated tax, the *zimmis* become *free subjects* of the conquering power and their condition is but little inferior to that of their Muslim fellow subjects...... Save some slight restrictions with regards to dress and equipage, the *zimmis* are held in all transactions of daily life pretty much on a footing of equality with the Muslims."

Justice between Muslims and non-Muslims.

In the eye of the law, Muslims and non-Muslims were absolutely equal, and in the punishment fo crimes there was no difference between the rulers and the ruled. In the *Takhrij-ul-Hidaya* a case is mentioned which occurred in the time of the second Caliph. A Christian named Hairat was killed by a Muslim, and Umar ordered the murderer to be handed over to the heir of the deceased who put the former to death. (8)

Prince Adil Khan, the eldest son of Sher Shah, while riding on an elephant in the streets of Agra, happened to see

(6) *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, (Balazuri) p. 65.

(7) Hamilton's *Hidaya* Vol. 2. p. 219.

(8) *Takhrij-ul Hidaya*, Delhi edition, p. 338.

the wife of a Banya bathing in the courtyard of her house in a nude state. The Prince threw the folded leaf of a betel at the woman who took the insult to heart and determined to commit suicide. In the meantime, however, her husband arrived and pursuaded the woman to desist. He then went to the King's palace with the betel leaf and related the incident to him. Sher Shah ordered that the wife of the Prince should be made to appear before the Banya, who riding on an elephant, was to throw a folded betel leaf at the royal princess. The order caused a consternation among the nobles of the Court, but Sher Shah was determined to punish his son. The Banya, however, voluntarily withdrew his complaint, and the incident was closed. (9)

Raja Girdhar Kachwaha, a noble of Jahangir's Court, was serving in the Deccan with Mahabat Khan. Near the house of the Raja was the shop of a sword grinder. The brother of one, Sayyid Kabir, having given his sword to the grinder, there issued a quarrel between him and the Sayyid about the wages to be paid. The Rajputs serving under the Raja sided with the grinder; thereupon Sayyid Kabir took a number of men with him and besieged the house of the Raja, who had shut the gates of his house on the approach of the mob. Sayyid Kabir, however, managed to break into the house, and the Raja with a number of Rajputs was killed. Mahabat, who arrived at the house soon after, arrested Sayyid Kabir and ordered him to be executed. (M. U.)

Asad Khan, the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb, had married one of the sisters of the empress Mumtaz Mahal. He was therefore Aurangzeb's maternal uncle.

" Mirza Tafakhkhur, the son of Asad Khan's daughter, acquired ruffianly habits at Delhi...plundered the shops of fruiterers, confectioners and others and with the help of his men, seized the Hindu women who went to the river to bathe, and did them all sorts of disgrace and

(9) *Tarikh i-Hind*, by Zakaullah Khan, Vol. III. p. 341.

dishonour. Every time that this matter was brought to the Emperor's notice in the news letters and reports, he wrote "The Prime Minister" and nothing more.

At last the Emperor repeatedly learnt that while a Baksaria (Hindu inhabitant of Buxar in Bihar) named Ghanshyam, having just married was passing with his companions by the gate of Mirza Tafakhkhur, placing his wife in a *dooli* and himself on horseback, the ruffians informed the Mirza, who sallied forth with a party of them and dragged the *dooli* by force into his own house. The men of the Imperial Artillery, on getting the news of their comrade's dishonour, wished to assemble and crowd at the gate of Mirza Tafakhkhur. Aqil Khan (Subadar of Delhi), sending the Kotwal forbade them. Then he despatched an eunuch of his to Qamar-un-Nisa, the daughter of the Prime Minister, and the mother of Mirza Tafakhkhur, and greatly chid and rebuked him, so that the poor Hindu woman, after the loss of her caste and honour, was given up to the eunuch, and he calmed the artillery men by promising that a report of the matter would be inserted in the news letter and the Emperor would certainly remedy (their grievance). They, therefore, abstained from creating a tumult. The Emperor, after reading it, wrote across the sheet (of the report): "The Prime Minister should write a 'Letter By Order of the Emperor' to Aqil Khan, ordering him to confine in the fort of Delhi this worthless wretch and luckless leader of wicked men, and in case his mother out of her extreme love for her son, refuses to part with him, the governor should be ordered to bring Qamar-un-Nisa Begum in a *Chandol* (rich litter) within the fort with every respect and keep her with her son. Aqil Khan should assign a good house fit for the residence of Qamar-un-Nisa Begum. As she is the daughter of my maternal aunt and is adorned with noble qualities, I ought to show consideration to her internally and externally. But what reform could even the Prophet Noah make in his own unworthy son, that other (parents) would succeed? It is my duty to prevent oppression on the people, who are a trust from the Creator. Fifty men of the Kotwal should carefully keep guard round the house and at the gate (of Tafakhkhur's house), so that this noxious creature may not creep out like a mouse from a hole."

"The Prime Minister at once wrote a 'Letter By Order,' and without sealing it placed it before the Emperor with his own letter to Aqil Khan. The purport of the letter was, "My dear and gracious brother, in view of our long standing friendship, I expect that you will consider yourself as an uncle of the wicked Tafakhkhur if you send an eunuch, summon him to your presence and give him fifty stripes with a thorny stick; it will in short give satisfaction and comfort to the loving heart of

this brother (of yours). The thorns of the stick will extract the thorns planted in my affectionate heart (by my grandson's misdeeds)."

The Emperor after reading it, wrote across the sheet, "Nobody else can chastise the son of my maternal aunt's daughter. If my life lasts and Death grants me respite, so that I may return to Delhi, I shall, God willing, chastise him with my own hand. He indeed stands in the relation of a son to me. But what help is there when the son is wicked ?" (10)

The incidents related above sufficiently indicate the spirit with which the Muslim rulers were imbued when dealing with their non-Muslim subjects Justice, toleration, and sympathy were their guiding principles.

The best evidence of the toleration of early Muslims is furnished by a Nestorian bishop who writes, "The Taites (or Arabs) to whom God has accorded in our days the dominion, are become our masters, but they do not combat the Christian religion; much rather they protect our faith; they respect our priests and our holy men, and make gifts to our churches and our convents." (11)

Kharaj.

Writing about the political disabilities of non-Muslims, Professor Sarkar says: "He must pay a tax for his land (*kharaj*), from which the early Muslims were exempt; he must pay other exactions for the maintenance of the army, in which he cannot enlist even if he offers to render personal service instead of paying the poll-tax." (12)

When Syria was conquered by the Muslims, the country became a public domain; the occupant had only the usufruct of the land for which he paid annually to the State a certain quantity of fruit or a ground-rent in money, called *kharaj*. "The sale of such land alienated only the usufruct, since

(10) Anecdotes of Aurangzeb by J. N. Sarkar, 109-111.
(11) Muir's Caliphate (1924 edition), p. 128.
(12) Sarkar, Vol. III, 286. Non-Muslims serving in the army were *always* exempt from Jizyah. See Chapter Jizyah, post.

the domain belongs to the state. Consequently the *Kharaj* continues to be collected whether the owner turns Muslim or not. In addition to this tax on land, the new Muslim in Syria, Christians, Jews, and Samaritans had to pay a capitation tax or jizya." (13)

"Exactions?"

As for "exactions for the maintenance of the army," we find that a non-Muslim was obliged to accord hospitality for three days to soldiers on the march—stabling (without barley) for the horses, and food (which did not necessitate the slaughtering of a sheep or even of a fowl) for the men. *The expense of this entertainment was repaid once a year.*" (14)

How liberal were the laws of the Muslims is indicated by a comparison with the conditions of the Roman Empire. According to the Roman custom, which was known as *hospitalitas*, soldiers were quartered on the owners of land who were compelled to share their estates with the former, and were designated as host and guest (*Hospites*). The proprietors of the land were bound to give one-third of the produce of their property to the soldiers whom they so grudgingly harboured. (15)

Discriminating Dress.

The restrictions as to equipage and dress, first incorporated by Umar in the treaty of surrender with the Syrian Christians, was necessitated by the political conditions of the day. Apart from Von Kremer, who has given cogent reasons in justification of the restrictive measures, Professor Hell, in his recent monograph, *Die Kultur der Araber*, thinks that the sharp division between

(13) Muir's Caliphate (1924), p. 136; see *Kharaj* by Yahya ibn Adam. Kharaj was not introduced by Muslims. It was a very old tax.

(14) Ibid., p. 137.

(15) See 'The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians' by J. B. Bury (1928) p. 110.

the Arabs and non-Arabs was necessary to enable the former to enjoy their privileges as conquerors to the fullest extent. As the surplus revenue was divided among the Muslims, it was necessary to differentiate between the giver and the receiver. (16)

" Their (*i. e.*, of the Arabs) leniency towards the conquered, and their justice and integrity presented a marked contrast to the tyranny and intolerance of the Romans.... The Syrian Christians enjoyed more civil and popular liberty under their Arab invaders than they had done under the rule of Heraclius, and they had no wish to return to their former state." (17)

It cannot be denied that some bigoted Muslim jurists have propounded views which are extremely narrow, but their preachings were seldom carried into practice. If Muslim rulers have departed from the just and equitable laws of Islam, " the cause is to be found in the passions of the ruler or the population," and not in the political system of Islam.

If we compare the treatment of non-Muslims in Islamic countries with that of non-Aryans in India, the foreigners' and non-citizens in Rome, and non-Christians under European Government, the balance of toleration, humanity and generosity will be found in favour of Islam.

Comparisons.

The earlier differences with regard to status between the patricians and the plebians is paralleled by the distinction between Roman citizens and *peregrini* (foreigners) in later times. The *jus civile* of Rome was the exclusive privilege of Roman citizens. A *peregrinus*

(16) The Arab Civilisation by Khuda Baksh, 45. See Social and Political Conditions Under The Caliphate by Khuda Baksh.
(17) Muir's Caliphate, 127.

had no legal status. If he wished to purchase a horse, he could pay the price and take it home; but the horse would not become his property, and the late owners could reclaim it.

The Code of Justinian incapacitated pagans, Jews, and Samaritans from occupying any civil or military office. The assemblies of heretics were forbidden and their religious rites prohibited." (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 34).

Under Christian domination, wherever feudalism had established itself, serfdom was the ordinary status of the peasantry. Even freemen were no better than slaves. They could not leave their homes without the permission of the lord of the manor, and they were bound, at all times to render him gratuitous services. (18)

The frightful misery which hung over the sons of Israil in the Middle Ages is a well-known historical fact. The Jews were an oppressed and down-trodden people, and lived in constant dread of heartless persecution.

The horrors of Aryan conquest of India, and the sufferings of the conquered can very well be imagined by the fact that even the shadow of a Sudra polluted the holy person of a Brahman. He cannot even to-day walk on God's earth with the spiritual guides and preceptors of the Aryans. Though no iron-collar was fastened round their necks, and their hands were not manackled, the indigenous people of India were worse than slaves. The Brahmans were exempt from all taxes (19) A Brahman murderer could not be executed, and there were different scales of justice for a Brahman, a Vaish, and a Sudra (20)

(18) Spirit of Islam, 244.

(19) Alberuni's India, Vol. II. p. 149.

(20) Ibid. p. 162.

The Arthasastra—a treatise on statecraft ascribed to Chanakya, the minister of Chandra Gupta, indicates that the heretics were not allowed to live wherever they liked. We find a distinct regulation to the effect that the heretics should have no place within a fortress. (Book II. 4) [20a]

The following tradition of the Hindus, as related by Alberuni, illustrates the relative status of a Brahman and a Chandala [21]

In the old days human life was very long, always of a well-defined and well-known length. Thus a child never died before its father. Then, however, it happened that the son of a Brahman died while the father was still alive. Now the Brahman brought his child to the door of the king and spoke to him: "This innovation has sprung up in thy days for no other reason but this, that there is something rotten in the state of the country. and because a certain Vazir commits in thy realm what he commits." Then the king began to inquire into the cause of this, and finally they pointed out to him a Chandala who took the greatest pains in performing worship and in self-torment. The king rode to him and found him on the bank of the Ganges, hanging on something with his head downward. The king bent his bow, shot at him, and pierced his bowels. Then he spoke: 'That is it! I kill thee on account of a good action which thou art not allowed to do.' When he returned home, he found the son

(20-a) Vincent Smith, Dr. Keith, Dr. Jolly, Stain and Winternitz maintain that the *Arthasastra* is not the work of a minister of Chandra Gupta, but represents traditional statecraft and "expresses the arrangements favoured by Brahmana ministers, as suitable for any independent kingdom at any time." The Indian scholars, however, are convinced that the treatise was written by Kautilya or Chanakya and that it describes the existing conditions of the time.

(21) Modern, Chandal.

of the Brahman, who had been deposited before his door, alive" [22]

"The growth and progress of non-Muslims," writes Professor Sarkar, "even their continued existence, is incompatible with the basic principles of a Muslim State" [23] The superficiality of the above observations will be evident if we were to enumerate the names of non-Muslims who, by their worth and merit, rose to great eminence under the Muslim rule. In every country under Muslim domination, the indigenous people have been allowed within prescribed limits to be governed by their own laws, and as long as they remained loyal and law abiding, the widest latitude was allowed to them. The beneficence of the Muslim rule in Spain, the just and generous treatment of the Christians and the Jews, the ample liberty which the latter enjoyed and their cultural attainments, are recorded in the imperishable pages of history [24] Has any nation, ancient or modern, allowed its provinces to be governed, its armies to be commanded, its Cabinet to be controlled by the people of the subject race? [25]

When Al-Moizz, the Fatimid Caliph, was planning the invasion of Egypt, he left Abul Hasan Jawhar commonly known as "Jawhar the Greek scribe," in charge of North Africa, which the latter had brought under complete subordination. Jawhar was a liberated slave trained as a

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(22) Alberuni's India, Vol. II. 137. See Wilkins' Hindu Mythology (Calcutta), p. 319. For the treatment of the Jats by the ruling class, see post, Chapter-Discriminating Regulations.

(23) Sarkar, Vol. III, 300.

(24) See Conde's History of the Spanish Moors.

(25) Afshin, a Manichean, was the commander-in-chief of Al-Mutasim. Mansur bin Abdun, a Christian, was the Chief Minister of the Fatimid Caliph, Al-Hakim ; As-Salih, an Armenian, was the head of the government under Al-Faiz ; Nasr ibn Harun, a Christian, the Wazir of Adud-ud-Dawlah, the Buwayyid.

secretary, whose father had been the subject of the Byzantine Empire. "The slave in Islam," writes O'Leary, "was not merely treated as a fellow man, but had a career of ambition open before him, in which his servile origin was no obstacle. There was no colour barrier nor any racial feeling; no reluctance was felt at white men being ruled by a negro ex-slave." (26)

The names of Hindu Rajas who governed provinces and commanded armies are too well known to be euumerated.

The fall of the Mughal empire or other Islamic kingdoms was not due to the "literal interpretation of the Quranic law" (x), but to the lack of any accepted rule of succession, the inherent defects of monarchy, the direliction of duty, and non-compliance with the true and abiding laws of Islam. As long as the Muslims had faith, honesty and determination, as long as they held the law of God above their own law which they could make and unmake they were the leaders among the nations of the world. From the moment they ceased to be faithful servants of the Lord, and developed into kings and emperors the spirit of real Islam departed from them, and gradually, though imperceptibly, they slipped down from their dizzy eminence. Discussing the phenomenal and marvellous vigour of Islam, H. G. Wells writes in his *Outline of History*, (page 425): "And if the reader entertains any delusions about a fine civilisation, either Persian, Roman, Hellanic, or Egyptian, being submerged by this flood, the sooner he dismisses such ideas the better. *Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer.* It prevailed because everywhere it found politically apathetic peoples, robbed, oppressed, bullied,

(26) See Fatimid Khalifate by Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, 99.

(x) Sarkar.

uneducated, and unorganized, and it found selfish and unsound governments out of touch with any people at all. *It was the broadest, freshest, and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world, and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind.*"

Those who wish to attain a right perspective and gain a correct knowledge of Islam and its polity, must study the comparative history of other religions, and above all, must compare age with age and time with time.

As Aurangzeb's failure as a ruler has been persistently attributed to the inherent defects of Islam, its exclusiveness and narrowness, we have briefly attempted to record in the preceding pages, not so much what Islam is, as what it is not. The basic principles of Islam are freedom and equality, and anyone who endeavours to follow its laws in the right spirit, cannot but be a just monarch. Now we shall see how far Aurangzeb followed those principles. If he did not follow them, let us enquire what were the causes of their infraction and how they arose and developed. (27)

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(27) Discussing Muslim demoralisation, Prof. Sarkar writes, (III-295), "The vast sums spent by the state in maintaining pauper houses and in scattering alms during Ramazan and other holy days and joyous ceremonies, were a direct premium on laziness." The instructive instance is cited in which Aurangzeb ordered the annual distribution of rupees one lac and forty nine thousand in alms to beggars. Even supposing that there were only 1,49,000 beggars in India during Aurangzeb's reign, by the simple process of division, we get one rupee per head. How could the distribution of one rupee in a whole year demoralise Muslims is beyond our comprehension.

The learned author has not justly appreciated the principles of theocracy. It is only under theocracy that the potential equality of men is recognized, unlike anthropomorphism in which some men are divine and others are lower than the beasts of the field by the accident of birth.

CHAPTER IV.

DESTRUCTION OF TEMPLES.

It is commonly believed that the destruction of the sacred places of non-Muslims is one of the tenets of Islam, and that the bigots and enthusiasts, who violated the temples of the Hindus, were carrying out a religious injunction. As we have to discuss the iconoclastic policy of Aurangzeb, it is essential that the Law of Islam should be properly comprehended.

Religious freedom in Islam.

The Prophet, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, had guaranteed the religious liberty of non-Muslims. The Caliphs, in their dealings with the Christian population, always adhered to the principles laid down by the Prophet. Arabic histories have preserved the texts of several treaties which, without exception, lay stress on the religious freedom of the Christians. It is enjoined that their churches shall not be destroyed, and they shall not be hindered from celebrating their religious festivals. (1)

It is an illuminating fact that after the conquest of Egypt, Umar Faruq, the second Caliph, allowed the Christians to retain the property dedicated to the churches and even continued the grants made by the former government for the maintenance of the priests. (Makrizi, pp. 492-499.)

When the repeated treacheries of the Byzantine Emperor, Nicaphorus, "caused the Christian name to stink in the nostrils of Harun-al-Rashid," the latter asked the theologians why Christian churches were not demolished. Qazi Abu Yusuf informed the Caliph that the security of religious freedom was the first condition of the treaty with the *zimmis*, and their churches were, therefore, inviolable. (2)

(1) *Kitab-ul Kharaj* pp. 84 and 86.

(2) ,, ,, p. 80

In the reign of the Caliph Hadi, a governor of Egypt, destroyed several churches. Harun, on coming to power, sent a new governor to Egypt, who asked the opinion of the theologians about the policy of his predecessor. They held that the destruction of churches was unlawful and consequently, all of them were rebuilt at the expense of the State. (3)

It is true that some later Muslim legists forbade the construction of new churches and synagogues in Muslim territory, but as Dr. Arnold puts it, "Schoolmen might agree that the *Zimmis* could build no houses of prayer in a city of Muslim foundation, but the civil authority permitted the Copts to erect churches in the new capital of Cairo. In other cities also the Christians were allowed to erect new churches and monasteries......In the reign of Abd-al-Malik (685-705), a wealthy Christian of Edessa erected in his native city a fine church dedicated to the Mother of God; he also built a number of churches and monasteries in various parts of Egypt......Some Christian Chamberlains, in the service of Abdul-Aziz, the governor of Egypt, obtained permission to build a church in Hulwan.........In 759 the building of a church at Nisibin was completed, on which the Nestorian Bishop, Cyprian, had spent a sum of 56,000 *dinars* ....In the same century was built the church of Abu Sirjah in the ancient Roman fortress in old Cairo......In the reign of Al-Mahdi (755-785) a church was erected in Baghdad for the use of Christian prisoners who had been taken captive during the numerous campaigns against the Byzantine empire. Another church was built in the same city in the reign of Harun (786-809).........In the tenth century, the beautiful Coptic church of of Abu Sayfyn was built in Fustat ....A new church was built at Jiddah in the reign of the seventh Fatimid Caliph of Egypt (1020-1035)." (4)

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(3) *Makrizi*, Vol. 2, p. 511.

(4) Preaching of Islam, pp. 66-68.

The tolerance granted to Christians was also extended to the fire-worshippers of Persia. Their fire-temples were respected and no repressive measures were adopted towards them. "We read of a Mohammedan general in the reign of Al-Mutasim ordered to be flogged because he had destroyed a fire-temple in Sughd, and had built a mosque in its place. In the tenth century, three centuries after the conquest of the country, fire-temples were to be found in Iraq, Fars, Kirman, Sijistan, Khurasan, Jibal, Adharbayjan, and Arran, in almost every province of Persia. Al-Sharastani also (writing as late as the twelfth century) makes mention of a fire-temple at Isfiniya, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad itself." (5)

When Muhammad bin Qasim conquered Sindh, he gave the Hindus absolute freedom of worship. "Even in religious matters," writes Vaidya, "they kept their promises." The question whether those who had accepted subjection and payment of tribute for freedom of religious worship should be allowed to build their idols was referred to Hajjaj and even that stern and cruel man said, "since we have accepted their tribute, we must allow them freedom of their own worship." (6)

It would be appropriate to point out that 'freedom' and toleration' are not synonymous. The term 'toleration' implies a certain amount of protest or disapproval. Unrestricted erection of churches and temples is 'freedom'; their wholesale destruction is 'persecution'; but the permission to repair and rebuild old temples, with a prohibition against constructing new ones, would be 'qualified toleration.' We hold that the Prophet and the four Caliphs gave freedom to non-Muslims, and in the same way, as already mentioned,

(5) Preaching of Islam pp. 209-10.

(6) History of Mediaeval Hindu India by C. V. Vaidya, Vol. I. p. 180.

did scores of Muslim rulers. The policy of the later jurists, however, was not in favour of freedom but for a 'qualified toleration' only.

Opinion of later jurists.

Muslim legists differ from each other in many respects. According to Hanafi doctrines, the constructions of temples and churches in Muslim territory is unlawful; but if those already in existence be destroyed or fall to decay, people are at liberty to rebuild or repair them. This is a rule with regard to cities; in villages and towns, where the 'tokens of Islam' do not appear, there is nothing to prevent the construction of new places of worship.

Whenever two peoples, differing in race and religion, have joined in mortal combat, the hand of the victor has often fallen on the sacred edifices of the vanquished. Revenge is a human instinct and few are able to master their wrath and fury in a moment of mental excitement. At the same time the vanquished, whenever an opportunity for retaliation has offered itself, have committed the same enormities in their turn. Anything done by way of reprisal surely has some justification, but the question cannot be disposed of nor the moral guilt washed away, by pleading revenge as a motive. Vindictive measures do have a certain restraining influence, but any good accruing from them is outbalanced by the permanent evil effect that they leave behind.

When Hinduism came into conflict with Buddhism, the Buddhist had to contend against the intolerance of the Brahmans. Whenever the latter had a predominent influence, they persecuted the casteless Buddhists. Mihirakula, a worshipper of Siva, bitterly persecuted the Buddhist monks. Their monasteries and stupas were destroyed, and

Persecution of Buddhists.

their sanctuaries were razed to the ground. The Brahmans made an attempt on the life of King Harsha, because he had shown some favour to the Buddhists during a great festival at Kanauj in 644 A. D. Sasanka, king of Western Bengal, uprooted the sacred Bo-tree at Buddha-Gaya, and demolished Buddhist monasteries. The Sena Kings were great supporters of the Brahmans and during their time, the Buddhists suffered persecution. Balala Sena expelled the Sonar Vanias, who were Buddhists, from his kingdom. Hermann Goetz writes, " Pushyamitra, the first ruler of the Songa dynasty, is supposed to be the first person who caused the persecution of the Buddhist in the name of orthodox Brahmanism"

When the wife of a Hindu Raja in Kashmir was kidnapped by a Buddhist, the former was so much enraged at the outrage that he demolished hundreds of Buddhist temples, and appropriating the property attached to the shrines gave them over to the Brahmans (7-a)

Sravasti, now in ruins and known as Sahet-Mahet (in the district of Bahraich in Oudh) was an ancient city and "its foundation reaches to the fabulous ages of Indian History." In the time of Buddha it was the capital of King Prasenajit, who became a convert to the new faith and was the firm friend and protector of Buddha. But his son Virudhaka hated the race of Sakyas, and his invasion of their country and subsequent massacre of 500 Sakya maidens, who had been selected for his harem, brought forth the famous prediction of Buddha that within seven days the

(7) Epochen der indischen Kultur (Epochs of Indian Culture) by Hermann Goetz (1929), page 181. This is a valuable work recently published. According to Mahamahapadhyaya H. P. Sastri, J. A. S. B. 1. 269, " Pusyamitra was a Brahminist to the core and hated the Buddhists."

(7 a) T. H IV. 86 from *Raj Trangini*.

king would be consumed by fire. The prediction was fulfilled." (7-b)

"The reality of the religious persecution of Buddhism in India, denied by Rhys Davids, is affirmed by Hodgson, Sewell and Watters. The instance of Sasanka, described by the nearly contemporary Hiuen Tsang, is fully proved. The case against Mihirakulla is almost as strong. In ancient times Tibet and Khotan were closely connected with India. Tibetan history records a persecution of Buddhism by King Glang Darma about 840 A. D, and a similar event is recorded in Khotan annals, shortly before 741 A. D. A terrible persecution of the cognate religion, Jainism, occurred in Southern India. Ajayadeva, a Saiva King of Gujarat, began his reign by a merciless persecution of the Jains, torturing their leader to death." (8)

"A legend, narrated by Taranath, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, if founded on fact, as it may be, indicates that Harsha's toleration did not extend to foreign religions. The story runs that the king built near Multan a great monastery constructed of timber after the foreign fashion, in which he entertained the strange teachers hospitably for several months ; and that at the close of the entertainment he set fire to the building and consumed along with it twelve thousand followers of the outlandish system, with all their books. This drastic measure is said to have reduced the religion of the Persians and Sakas to very narrow limits for a century, and it is alleged that their doctrine, presumably Zorastrianism was kept alive only by a single weaver in Khorasan." (9)

The introduction of Islam into India brought new

(7-b) Archælogical Report by Cunningham, Vol I, 332.

(8) Early History of India by V. Smith, 191. Note.

(9) Ibid , 32. I should not be understood to mean that persecution was the normal condition of Hinduism. The followers of every religion have committed excesses and it would be rash to stress only the worst side of a people.

complications into the country. The early Musalmans differed from the Hindus both in race and religion. Invaders like Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori, had violated the sacred places of the Hindus, more for the sake of riches than for religion. But there were other Muslim monarchs who were actuated by pure bigotry. It should not, however, be understood that the iconoclastic policy of some of the Muslim kings was allowed to flourish unprotested. When Sikander Lodi wanted to stop the pilgrimage at Thanesar and massacre the pilgrims, a courtier asked him to consult the theologians before starting on a murderous venture. When the Ulema were summoned and they were informed of the King's wish, Mian Abdullah of Ajodhan, an eminent theologian, strongly protested against the mad scheme of the Sultan. He gave his considered opinion that any interference in the religion of the Hindus was against the law of Islam. Sikander was so much enraged at the reply that he clutched his dagger and told Mian Abdullah that he would first cut his (Abdullah's) throat and then massacre the Hindus. The theologian was not at all perturbed. "By the will of God," he said, "one must die on the appointed day; but in the presence of a tyrant, one always despairs of one's life." The Sultan quieted down and a great tragedy was averted. (10)

Mosques demolished by Hindus.

The Hindus were crushed for the time being, yet, as was natural, the spark of revenge and hatred was ever burning under ashes. Whenever an occasion presented itself, the Hindus destroyed mosques by way of reprisal. When Ali Adil Shah asked the help of the Raja of Vijyanagar against Husain Nizam Shah, he specially requestsd him to spare mosques and to refrain from molesting the civil

(10) T. H. p. 377.

population. But the Raja committed atrocities when he entered Ahmadnagar; mosques were occupied and dancing parties were held within the sacred precincts. [11]

We have explained, in a previous chapter, how Akbar had injured Muslim religious susceptibilities, and how a reaction had set in. By the time Shahjahan came to the throne, the theologians had gained sufficient influence at Court. Though Shahjahan was half a Hindu, yet the Emperor could not shut his eyes to the fact that the Hindus were demolishing mosques. "When the royal camp was at Gujarat," writes the Court historian, "the Sayyids and Shaikhs of the town petitioned the Emperor, stating that some of the Hindus had married Muslim women, and had appropriated several mosques. Thereupon Shaikh Mahmud Gujarati was appointed to make enquires, separate the Muslim wives from their Hindu husbands, and take possession of the mosques. He acted according to the order, and the mosques occupied by the Hindus were pulled down and new mosques were erected in their place. Later on, an order was sent throughout the Empire directing the same action to be taken in all similar cases. Consequently, many Muslim women were liberated from the Hindus, temples were razed to the ground, and mosques were built." [12] At another place we come across the following: "Before this, news had reached His Majesty that the foundation of a number of temples had been laid at Benares in Jahangir's reign, but that they had not been completed; as some wealthy Hindus were anxious to complete them, the Emperor issued an order that in Benares and throughout the imperial dominions, all new temples should be demolished. During this time, it was reported from the province of Allahabad that 76 temples were razed to the ground." [13] Various incidents dealing with the appropriation of mosques,

(11) *Firishta* (Litho) p. 27 of Vol. 2.
(12) *Padshahnama*, Vol. 2, p. 58.
(13) Ibid., Vol. I, 452.

though unrecorded in political histories, are to be found in miscellaneous contemporary works.

A biographer of a Muslim saint under the date 25th Shaban, 1077 Hijra, writes, " The saint came to a tank four miles from Ghazipur. It was full of water and on its bank stood a mosque with one arch, inscribed with the names of God. The Hindus turning the mosque into a temple had poured oil and sprinkled *sendur* (a red powdery substance) over it. The saint washed the floor of the mosque and offered his mid-day prayer." (14)

Obstructions in Friday prayer.

When a sane man turns a bigot, the conversion involves a revolution of ideas. If we were to know the bases of the new prejudices much that is obscure would be explained. Though Aurangzeb's bigotry has become a household word, the diverse causes that gradually led him to the adoption of extreme measures, have not been fully understood. It will come as a surprise to many to hear, that at the height of their power, the Musalmans were unable to offer their Friday prayers at one of the largest city of the Empire for a whole year. " In Ahmadnagar," runs a *firman* of Aurangzeb, " there is a Cathedral Mosque situated near the city gate ....For a year the Kulis have not allowed the Musalmans to offer their Friday prayers. See that no one disturbs the Musalmans." (14-a)

Mosques demolished by Sivaji.

We find from a Maratha source that mosques were destroyed by Sivaji." (15)

(14) *Ganj-i-Rashidi.*

(14-a) *Mirat*, Litho, 275. The Kulis were a turbulent tribe of Gujarat. See Abdul Hamid, II, 231.

(15) See page 131, post.

When Aurangzeb reduced the forts of Satara and Parli, he found that the Marathas had destroyed mosques built by the kings of Bijapur inside the forts. Consequently he ordered the mosques to be rebuilt. (16)

The occupation of mosques by the Hindus was, to a great extent, responsible for the strict enforcement of the order of Muslim jurists, previously noticed, *viz.*, that the construction of no new temples should be permitted. That the Hindus were aware of this ordinance before Shahjahan's reign is proved by the fact, that when Bir Singh Deo Bundela wanted to erect a temple at Muthra, he had to take Jahangir's permission." (17) In spite of this prohibition, numerous temples sprang up, and many of them were pulled down at Benares during Shahjahan's reign. (18) From the province of Bihar also report was received that many newly constructed temples had been destroyed and mosques constructed in their place. (19)

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(16) K. K. Vol. 2, p. 472.

(17) *Tazkira Salatin-i-Chughta*, p. 133.

(18) The temples of Gopinathji, Madanmohanji, and Mahaparhbu at Bindraban were built in Jahangir's reign.

(19) Khafi, Vol. I, p. 472.

The destruction of mosques by the Rajputs is affirmed by Tod. Describing Ajit's triumph after the death of Aurangzeb, the author of *Rajasthan* says, " The barbarians (*i. e.* Muslims), in turn were made captive ; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed..............the triumph of the Hindus was complete ....The chaplet of the Moolla served to count the name of Rama, and a handful of gold was given to have their beards removed. Nothing but the despair and flight of the *Mletcha* was heard throughout Moordhur (*i. e.*, Marwar)—Vol. II, 62."

We find that Ajit " had been guilty of some unwarrantable actions such as demolishing mosques, in order to raise idol temples on their ruins in the very middle of his capital. (*Styar-ul-Mutakherin*, translated by Col. Briggs, page 59)."

Mosques destroyed by Hindus.

Aurangzeb seems to have taken a mental note of the destruction of mosques which had taken place while he was yet a prince. After the battle near Agra, he wrote to Shahjahan, " God is my witness that I had no intention of ousting the king of Islam. As I thought it my duty to turn out the eldest Prince (Dara) who had nothing of a Musalman left in him and who had raised the standard of atheism and apostasy throughout the Empire, I marched this way (towards Agra) and had to fight the first battle with the *wicked infidels, who, after destroying mosques had constructed places for their idols.* [20]

Aurangzeb is here moved to a righteous indignation, unmindful of the wrath and fury surging up in the minds of the Hindus, whose sacred places had been so many times razed to the ground by his own co-religionists. Our purpose in quoting the letter, however, is to show that the Hindus did wreak their vengeance on the mosques of the Musalman whenever they could. Aurangzeb's letter should be kept in view, for it reveals the obsession of his mind. In spite of the avowal of a biassed sentiment, for full twelve years after his accession to the throne, he gave little cause of resentment to the Hindus.

The first act of persecution is noticed in 1669 A. D. but some events before that date deserve our attention. The recurring treachery of Jaswant Singh, the sack of Surat, the looting of Musalman pilgrims by Sivaji, and his escape from Agra through the connivance of Raja Jey Singh's son, the refractoriness of the Rajputs during the Satnami rebellion and the rising of the Jats in 1669—all these must have left a peculiar impression on Aurangzeb's mind. He viewed these incidents from the same angle of vision

(20) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, folio 366-b.

from which he had noticed the destruction of mosques by the Hindus. Vindictive thoughts were, perhaps, accumulating in his brain for years before he was informed that the Brahmans were teaching their "wicked" books to the 'true believers.' This was more than he could endure, and he determined upon drastic action. "It was reported to His Majesty," writes Mustaid Khan, "that in the Province of Thatta and Multan and particularly in Benares, the Brahmans were engaged in teaching unholy books in their schools, where the Hindus and Musalmans flocked to learn their wicked sciences, and were led away from the right path. Orders were, therefore, issued to all the governors of Provinces ordering the destruction of temples and schools and totally prohibiting the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers." (21)

Schools and Temples.

Apart from the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, there is no reference to the order for the destruction of temples in any other Persian history. The execution of the order could not but cause the most violent commotion throughout the country Nevertheless, we do not hear of any protest. It is, consequently, difficult to believe the account of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* and there are, as we shall presently discuss, good reasons for holding that no such order was either promulgated or carried out.

It should be noted that Muslim chroniclers always reveal a peculiar psychology in dealing with religious matters. They are invariably hyperbolical in their style. The following lines will illustrate my meaning: "During this time," writes Kazim Shirazi, "when the victorious army became free from the expedition against Sivaji, an order was issued to Raja Jey Singh, that after occupying the forts and territories of the latter, he should invade Bijapur and

(21) *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* p. 81. See also Manucci, II, 154.

do his best to destroy towns and villages, all the inhabitants of which were infidels and were given to idolatry. [22]

It is not possible to believe that Aurangzeb would have sent a Hindu general on the errand of destroying Hindu towns. The extirpation of 'infidels' is a theme of which the Muslim historians were never tired of talking. It will, therefore, be unsafe to rely on their version in such matters especially when they are speaking in general terms.

On scrutinizing the order for closing Hindu schools, however, one can discover the motives that prompted its promulgation. The reference to the Muslim students in the order is significant. The desire was not so much to save the Hindus from error as to prevent their turning the Musalmans away from the right path. Lacking power of imagination, Aurangzeb thought he could only save his co-religionists from spiritual ruin by preventing them from attending Hindu schools. It seems very improbable that the Hindu schools throughout the Empire were closed. At the utmost an example may have been set by the closing of a few schools and the Brahmans warned not to take Muslim pupils.

No order for demolishing temples.

As to the alleged destruction of temples, we hold that no *firman*, as described by Mustaiḍ Khan, was sent to the governors. This view is based on four main reasons.

(1) Soon after his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb had enunciated the Islamic law to the effect that no old Hindu temples were to be destroyed, but the construction of no new ones was to be permitted. It seems that the Hindus at Benares had been molested in the performance of

(22) *Alamgirnama*, 913.

their religious duties and the following *firman* was sent to the officer in charge of the town :—

The Benares *firman*.

"Let Abul Hasan, worthy of favour and countenance, trust to our royal bounty, and let him know that, since in accordance with our innate kindness of disposition and natural benevolence, the whole of our untiring energy and all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the condition of all classes, high and low, *therefore, in accordance with our holy law, we have decided that ancient temples shall not be overthrown, but that new ones shall not be built.* In these days of our justice, information has reached our noble and most holy Court that certain persons, actuated by rancour and spite, have harassed the Hindus resident in the town of Benares and a few other places in that neighbourhood, and also certain Brahman keepers of the temples, in whose charge these ancient temples are, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office (and this intention of theirs causes distress to that community), therefore, our Royal Command is that, *after the arrival of our lustrous order, you should direct that in future, no person shall in unlawful way interfere or disturb the Brahmans and the other Hindus resident in these places*, so that they may as before, remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God given Empire, that is destined to last for all time. Consider this as an urgent matter, dated the 15th of Jumada II A. H. 1069." (A. D. 1659). (23)

This *firman*, on the one hand lays down the Islamic law about temples, on the other, it repudiates the charge brought against Aurangzeb that, from the very beginning, he had

(23) Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911, p. 689.

taken the most uncompromising attitude towards the Hindus. It shows him not as a persecutor of this section or the other, nor as a tormentor ever ready to inflict indignities and slights on his opponents but as a man whose sole desire was to follow a religious code, which he considered to be a Divine injunction.

In reply to a petition requesting the dismissal of non Muslims from certain posts, Aurangzeb points out that "*Religion has no concern with secular business and in matters of this kind bigotry should find no place*," and after quoting the Quranic text "To you your religion, and to me my religion," declares that if the petitioner's requests were to be acceded to, 'we shall have to destroy all the Rajas and their subjects.' (24)

We have already noticed the regulation of later Muslim legists that the construction of new temples was not to be allowed though old ones could be repaired and rebuilt. That the erection of new temples was not only forbidden within Mughal territory but was also resented in the States outside imperial dominion is shown by the following incident: "When Madhna Punt was minister at Hyderabad, he was very unpopular among the Musalmans. When he came to power, the influence of Islam was much weakened As Abul Hasan was sunk in debauchery, and cared nothing for his country, Madhna became so powerful that he built a new temple outside the city." (25)

Prejudice against idolatry was so strong among the Musalmans that they resented its perpetuation and discouraged the construction of new temples

Returning to Aurangzeb's *firman*, it is surprising that after having stated the law of Islam concerning existent

(24) See post, Chapter, Hindus in Service.

(25) *Hadaiq-al-Alam*, folio 200.

temples, he should have, without any provocation, ordered their wholesale destruction. The *firman* was issued for the benefit of the Hindus at Benares and yet the temples of that very town are alleged to have been destroyed. What was the reason that prompted this action? Subsequent pages will indicate that the temples of Benares were not demolished by order of Aurangzeb.

Testimony of a Bundela officer.

(2) Apart from the *firman* mentioned above, there is another evidence which goes to prove that Aurangzeb did not issue any general order for the destruction of temples. A Hindu officer in the service of Dulpat Rai Bundela, who served Aurangzeb in the Deccan, has left a diary of events in that part of the country. His description of temples is particularly valuable. "When Zulfiqar Khan," writes the officer, "came to Trichnopoly, the Zemindar sent a considerable offering. Here is a famous temple built by the Rajas on the bank of the Caveree."

Describing Ginjee, the same author writes, "The last is one of the seven chief worshipping places of the Hindus. There are two temples, Seo Ginjee and Bishan Ginjee the walls of which are not less extensive than the citadel of Bijapur. Within the town are many splendid temples and without, round about it a great variety. Bishan Ginjee was populous and flourishing, being resorted to by numerous pilgrims who paid a toll for permission to perform their devotion at the temples; so that a great sum is annually collected. *From near the fort of Adonee to Kernole, Kinjee, Ginjee and hence to the seacoast, there is not a village without a temple either to Lachman or the God Ram.*" (26)

Sujan Rai of Batala wrote his book, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, between 1695 and 1699 A. D. He gives a

(26) Scott, Vol. 2 p. 86. See Manucci's description of Kanchi and "the existence of large and lofty temples." (Vol. III, 243).

description of a few of the Hindu shrines situated in different provinces. "Twenty *kos* from Sirhind on the skirt of the hills, is a shrine Ekhat Bhuayah (Kot Bhima) associated with Bhima Devi, and from ancient times a place of worship of the Hindus (p. 14)...........Forty *kos* east of the capital is the old town of Sambhal; within it is Har Mandir, an ancient place of worship. Near it is a place called Nanak Math, where the followers of Baba Nanak assemble and chant his praise. (P. 16)...........In the town of Mul (modern Modhopur in Manglor, Gujarat) there is a temple of Mahadeo. Near it is Dwarka. It has a famous shrine. (P. 65).........Seventy *kos* from Thatta is Niklaj, a place sacred to Durga.........Two *kos* from Batala is Achal, a place sacred to Syam Kartik. (P. 91) (See, *India of Aurangzeb.*)

(3) The town of Muthra is not very far from Delhi and the royal order could have reached there in less than a week. The obnoxious fiat for the wholesale destruction of temples is alleged to have been issued in the elventh month of 1079 Hijra. Nevertheless, Bir Singh's temple at Muthra was razed to the ground in the ninth month of 1080 Hijra. Could the royal *firman* have remained unexecuted for so many months? Contemporary records, moreover, refer only to the destruction of one temple at Muthra. Why were the others spared?

(4) Apart from the demolition of the temple at Muthra, there is no record of temples being destroyed at Delhi or Agra or anywhere in that neighbourhood. Credulity will not countenance the theory that Aurangzeb's iconoclasm reached its satiety after achieving its nefarious purpose only at a few places. The facts enumerated above afford strong grounds for concluding that no general order for pulling down temples was issued. Each temple has its own story

to tell and the critical sense refuses to connect the destruction of every temple with the offensive order of 1079 Hijra.

Order about new temples

The contention that the destruction of only newly-built temples was ordered is amply proved by the following order issued to all *faujdars* of thanas, civil officers (*mutasaddis*), agents of *jagirdars*, *kroris*, and *amlas*, from Cuttack to Medinipur on the frontier of Orissa: "The Imperial Paymaster Asad Khan, has sent a letter, 'written by the order of the Emperor,' to say that the Emperor, learning from the news-letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkuti in Medinipur a temple has been (newly) built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction, and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in this province by the worthless infidels. Therefore, you are commanded with extreme urgency, that immediately on the receipt of this letter, you should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether of brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the crushed Hindus and despicable infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the Qazis and attested by pious Shaikhs." (27)

The above order was issued before 1670 A. D., and, I think, that if any *firman* was issued for the destruction of temples in 1669, it must have been on the lines of the Benares *firman*, dated 1659 A. D. The prohibition about the repair of old temples, however, seems to be an addendum by local officials and opposed to the law enunciated by Aurangzeb himself in the Benares *firman*.

De Graaf heard of a royal order about the destruction of temples, when he was at Hugli in 1670. "In the month

(27) Sarkar, Vol. III p. 322, quoting *Muraqqat-i-Abul Hasan, p. 200.*

of January," he writes, "all the Moorish Governors and officers received orders from the Grand Mogul to prevent the observance of the heathen religion in the whole country and to wall in all the temples and pagodas of the idolators "[28] In view of the testimony of *Muraqqat-i-Abul Hasan* giving details of the royal order, De Graaf's observations about the wholesale destruction of temples are wide of the mark.

Temple of Keshav Rai.

The temple of Keshav Rai built by Bir Singh Deo Bundela at Muthra was demolished by the order of Aurangzeb in January 1670. Contemporary histories content themselves with the bare statement that the temple was demolished ; the reasons that provoked its demolition are silently passed over. It is not our purpose to justify Alamgir's iconoclasm; there can be absolutely no justification for the profanation of sacred and holy places. But it is the historian's duty to place before his readers all the circumstances of the incident under discussion.

Muthra had suffered considerably from Muslim hands since the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, and it was probably for this reason that the Jats, who inhabit its vicinity, had developed an intractable spirit. We do not find them in a pacific mood in Shahjahan's reign. In 1636, Murshid Quli Khan was sent to Muthra as a *Faujdar* with express instructions to root out the rebellion of the Jats; but only a year after his appointment, he was killed during an attack on one of their strongholds. The next Governor, Allah Verdi Khan was succeeded by Iradat Khan in 1642, but the latter was removed in 1645 for not taking vigorous action against the Hindu malcontents. Muthra thus became notorious as a place where a *Faujdar's* reputation was wrecked. The military governorship of Muthra was not an enviable post,

(28) Orme's Fragments, p. 250.

as the Central Government failed to take effective measures against the recalcitrant Jats who were bad tax-payers. The district was always in an unsettled condition, and the rule of the Mughals existed only in name. In 1669, the Jats rebelled under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat, and plundered several villages. The Musalmans were the chief victims of the rising. Later on, Abdul Nabi the *Faujdar* of Muthra, was killed in an encounter and the rebellion became serious. It spread to the Agra district and Aurangzeb himself marched to Muthra in November. Hasan Ali Khan, the new *Faujdar* of Muthra, after a bloody contest, succeeded in storming Tilpat in December. Gokla Jat was taken prisoner and executed. Strong and severe measures were taken against the rebles, and it was on this occasion that the temple of Keshav Rai was demolished.[29]

"When the royal tent," writes Ishwar Das, "was pitched near the city (Muthra), the facts about the temple were related to His Majesty. He, therefore, ordered the *Faujdar* to destroy the temple." Bir Singh Deo Bundela had murdered Abul Fazl at the instigation of Jahangir and a booty of 32 lacs of rupees had fallen into his hands. With this money Bir Singh had built the temple. The employment of money looted from a Muslim for the perpetuation of idolatry was, from Aurangzeb's point of view, unpardonable. He thus found two good reasons for the demolition of the temple. The Jats were severely dealt with and stern measures were taken against them with the result that they did not give any serious trouble for a long time.

(29) The author of a book in Urdu recently suggested that as the Jats desecrated the mosque of Abdul Nabi, Aurangzeb demolished the temple of Keshav Rai in retaliation. When I wrote to the author to verify his remarks, he mentioned the name of a book in which, however, I found no reference to Muthra. Further correspondence on the point failed to elicit any reply. If the fact of desecration can be proved, Aurangzeb's action will require no further elucidation.

The site of the temple of Keshav Rai has had a chequered history. In the heart of the city of Muthra was an elevated ground about 30 ft. in height upon which stood the famous Buddhist monastery of Upagupta. Cunningham found many Buddhist relics near the temple of Keshav Rai, and, as he says, "these discoveries are sufficient to show that the mound of Keshav Rai must have been the site of a Buddhist establishment of much wealth and of considerable size." Writes Cunningham, "Of the circumstances which attended the downfall of Buddhism we know almost nothing, but as in the present case we find the remains of a magnificent Brahmanical temple occupying the very site of what must once have been a large Buddhist establishment, we may infer with tolerable certainty that the votaries of Sakya Muni were expelled by force, and that their buildings were overthrown to furnish materials for those of their Brahmanical rivals, and now these in their turn have been thrown down by the Musalmans." (Archæological Report, 1862-63 Vol. I p. 237.)

Benares Temples.

Aurangzeb, according to popular tradition was responsible for destroying three temples at Benares and building three mosques on their sites, namely:—

1. The Mosque upon the ruins of Kirtibaseswara temple.

2. The Panchganga Mosque upon the debris of Beni Madho temple.

3. The Gyan Bapi Mosque upon the site of Visweswara or Vishunath temple.

Though the order for the wholesale destruction of temples is alleged to have been issued in 1079 Hijra (1669 A. D.), we find that the first mosque named after Aurangzeb was built in 1077 Hijra, as evidenced by the inscription,

"Turn your face towards the sacred mosque-1077 Hijra." (30) As contemporary history does not speak of the demolition of any temple at Benares save that of Kashi Vishunath, the question naturally arises as to why, when, and by whom the Kirtibaseswara temple was destroyed before the promulgation of the notorious order. If Aurangzeb wanted to destroy the temples at Benares, why did he cause one temple to be destroyed in 1077 Hijra and the other (Vishunath) in 1080 A. H.

As regards the temple of Beni Madho, we have documentary evidence to show that it was not demolished in 1079 A. H., and no contemporary record speaks of its destruction by Aurangzeb. All circumstances, therefore, point to one conclusion, *viz.*, that the temples at Benares were not demolished in consequence of any general order. We are fortified in this view by a reliable piece of evidence. A disciple of a Muslim saint who lived at Benares, has left to us the *Malfuzat* (table-talk) of his preceptor from which the following quotations under the date, 15th Jumada I, 1079 Hijra—the year in which the notorious *firman* is alleged to have been issued—are relevant. "The infidels demolished a mosque that was under construction and wounded the artisans. When the news reached Shah Yasin, he came to Benares from Mandyawa and collecting the Muslim weavers, demolished the big temple." (31) A detailed account is given at another place by the biographer of the saint. "A Sayyid who was an artisan by profession agreed with one Abdul Rasul to build a mosque at Benares and accordingly the foundation was laid. Near the place there was a temple, and many houses belonging to it were in the occupation of the Rajputs. The infidels decided that the construction of a mosque in the locality was not proper and

(30) *Benares the Holy City* by R. Sen.

(31) *Ganj-i Arshadi* p. 248.

that it should be razed to the ground. At night the walls of the mosque were found demolished. Next day the wall was rebuilt but it was again destroyed. This happened three or four times. At last the Sayyid hid himself in a corner. With the advent of night the infidels came to achieve their nefarious purpose. When Abdul Rasul gave the alarm, the infidels began to fight and the Sayyid was wounded by the Rajputs. In the meantime, the Musalman residents of the neighbourhood arrived at the spot and the infidels took to their heels. The wounded Muslims were taken to Shah Yasin who determined to vindicate the cause of Islam. When he came to the mosque, people collected from the neighbourhood. The civil officers were outwardly inclined to side with the saint, but in reality they were afraid of the royal dipleasure on account of the Raja, who was a courtier of the Emperor and had built the temple (near which the mosque was under construction) Shah Yasin, however, took up the sword and started for *Jihad*. The civil officers sent him a message that such a grave step should not be taken without the Emperor's permission. Shah Yasin, paying no heed, sallied forth till he reached Bazar Chau Khamba through a fusilade of stones.........The doors (of temples) were forced open and the idols thrown down. The weavers and other Musalmans demolished about 500 temples. They desired to destroy the temple of Beni Madho, but as the lanes were barricaded, they desisted from going further." (32)

Though the authority quoted above speaks of 500 temples having been destroyed—a highly exaggerated number,—it is evident that many temples were demolished, among them the 'big temple' also. As the Kirtibasesara temple was destroyed before 1077 Hijra, and the Beni Madho temple was not demolished at the time of the *Jihad* mentioned

(32) *Ganj-i-Arshadi* p. 248

above, probably, it was the Vishuanath temple (*Butknana kalan*)—if it remained intact till 1669—that was destroyed. Had the temples at Benares been destroyed by Aurangzeb's order, the compiler of *Ganj-i-Arshadi*, who lived for a long time near Benares, would have joyfully mentioned the fact.

The destruction of 500 temples by Muslim fanatics may be an exaggerated account. But when a mad mob runs amok, it perpetrates worse crimes than the smashing of sacred shrines. We find from the District Gazeteer of Benares (p. 208), that during a communal riot in 1809, the Hindus destroyed about 50 mosques including that of Gyan Bapi. It will be found that communal riots, and not Aurangzeb, were responsible for the demolition of temples at Benares.

Apart from the account given in the *Ganj-i-Arshadi*, there is another evidence which, though demolishing the inference that I have previously noticed, proves that the temple of Vishunath was not destroyed by Aurangzeb According to the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, the temple was demolished in 1669, [33] but on visiting the Gyan Bapi Mosque, I found the following inscription on a semi-circular slab of black stone fixed in the wall near the pulpit:—

"This mosque was first built by order in the *second* year of accession of Alamgir. Afterwards in 1207 Hijra,— Ali (the name is indistinct), the hereditary *Mutawalli* of the mosque repaired the courtyard." [34]

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(33) M. A. 88.

(34) Below is the exact copy of the inscription:—

اول بحکم والادر سنه ۲ دو جلوس حضرت عالمگیر خان ۰کان این
جامع مسجد تیار شده بعده در ۱۲۰۷ هجری القدس سے ۰سوات
علي متولي موروثي مسجد موصوفه مرمت صحن وغیره نمود

It is noticeable that the year is inscribed both in words and figures.

If the mosque was completed in the second year of Aurangzeb's reign, the temple of Vishunath must have been demolished earlier than 1659 A. D. On pursuing my enquiry about the date of construction of the mosque, a piece of stone was shown to me by the *Muazzin* bearing the following inscription:, " *Aiwan-i-Shariat*, 1048 Hijra." (35) This piece was discovered by him in August 1929 underneath the debris lying on the back of the mosque. As the name, *Aiwan-i-Shariat*,' can only be applied to a mosque, and the word is the chronogram for the year 1048 Hijra, the inference is reasonable that at the present site of the mosque a building existed that was completed in 1048 Hijra. The last building either toppled down or suffered destruction between 1048 and 1070 Hijra, giving place to the present mosque. That the piece of stone bearing the inscription did not belong to any other edifice is evident from the fact that there was no Muslim building in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vishunath temple. (36) In view of the discovery of the inscriptions, therefore, the testimony of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, does not carry much weight.

Sujan Rai whom we have previously quoted, while speaking of Benares, does not mention the demolition of any temple there, though, giving an account of Muthra, he says that the shrine of Keshav Rai was destroyed by Aurangzeb.

The granting of *Inam* land, free from all dues and taxes, to the Brahmans, and the issue of a royal order for the protection of a religious preceptor of the Hindus are indicated by two *firmans*, both relating to Benares, which throw a

(35) ایوان شریعت
سنه ۱۰۴۸ هجری

(36) See District Gazeteer of Benares.

flood of light on the attitude of the much-maligned monarch. The dates are important as they relate to a period when Aurangzeb's bigotry is supposed to have exceeded every known limit.

Firman No. 1.

"At this auspicious time an august *firman* was issued that whereas Maharajdhiraj Raja Ram Singh has represented to the most holy, and exalted Court that a mansion was built by his father in *Mohalla* Madho Rai, on the bank of the Ganges at Benares for the residence of Bhagwant Goshain who is also his religious preceptor, and as certain persons harass the Goshain, therefore, our Royal Command is that, after the arrival of our lustrous order, the present and future officers should direct that in future, no person shall in any way interfer or disturb the Goshain, so that he may continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God given Empire, that is destined to last for all time. Consider this as an urgent matter. Dated 17th Rabi II, 1091, A. H."

Firman No. 2.

"At this auspicious time an august *firman* was issued that as two plots of land measuring 588½ *dira*, situated on the bank of the Ganges at the Beni Madho *ghat* in Benares (one plot is in front of the house of Goshain Ramjivan and on the back of the Central Mosque, and the other is higher up) are lying vacant without any building and belong to *Bait-ul-Mal*, we have, therefore, granted the same to Goshain Ramjivan and his sons as *Inam*, so that after building dwelling-houses for the pious Brahmans and holy *faqirs* on the above-mentioned plots, he should remain engaged in the contemplation of God and continue to offer up prayers for the continuance of our Empire that is destined to last for all time. It is, therefore, incumbent on our

illustrious sons, exalted ministers, noble *Umaras*, high officials, *daroghas*, and present and future *Kotwals*, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance, and to permit the above-mentioned plots to remain in the possession of the above-mentioned person and of his descendants from generation to generation and to consider him exempt from all dues and taxes, and not to demand from him a new *sanad* every year (1098 Hijra.)"*

Rajputana Temples

The trouble in Rajputana began with the Rajputs of Khandela who rebelled in 1679. It was during this rising that "Darab Khan was sent with a strong army to punish the Rajputs of Khandela and demolish its great temple." (37) These remarks give us a key to Aurangzeb's iconoclastic tendencies. It is clear that the punishment of the rebellious Rajputs was his real object, and the destruction of their temples was only a swift and speedy means to that end.

After the death of Jaswant Singh, there was a general rising throughout Rajputana. Aurangzeb himself took the field and in accordance with the terrible policy of reprisals, the temples of Jodhpur and Chittor were destroyed.

Rajputs demolish mosques.

The demolition of temples by Alamgir, however, brought about swift retaliation. When the Mughals were conducting a campaign against the Rana, Kunwar Bhim Singh, the second son of the Rana, detached himself from the main army, and making a dash towards the imperial

(*) I am thankful to Khan Bahadur Shaikh Maqbul Husain Sahib, Commissioner, Benares Division, for the above *firmans*.

(37) M. A. 171.

territory entered Gujarat and *destroyed 300 mosques.* (Vir Vinoda, p. 471.)

In the seventeenth century of the Christian era, monarchs and conquerors had not the same scruples about the laws of war, as a modern invading army, probably, has to-day. A general who had set his heart on the conquest of a country did not then disdain to adopt measures which will not be tolerated by the awakened conscience of the modern world. When Jahangir sent Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shahjahan, against the Rana of Chittor, the former "conducted his campaign with consummate ability, ruthless severity, and extraordinary good fortune.... ......Fields and orchards were burnt, villages and towns were plundered, and temples were demolished......Yet the bitter conflict went on. The fight was hardest over the sacred shrines." (History of Jahangir, 240, 241). Khurram's object was the speedy conquest of Mewar—an ambition in which even his grand-father had failed. In the pursuit of this task, he even demolished temples, though Jahangir in his anxiety to mollify the Hindus had a number of Musalmans beheaded for the slaughter of cows.[38] Jahangir's policy *vis a vis* the Hindus, and his generous treatment of the Rana proves that the destruction of temples was not actuated by bigotry; the sole object was to harass the Rajputs as to bring about their submission. Aurangzeb may be regarded as a fossilised bigot, but in his wars, he adopted the same course of action as did his grand-father.

Golkunda and Bijapur.

After the capture of Golkunda, Aurangzeb appointed Abdulrahim Khan to look after the security and morals of the city with orders to put down infidel practices and innovations which Abul Hasan had introduced in the city and to destroy temples and build mosques on their sites. [39]

(38) See Chapter I p. 37.
(39) K. K. II 358-359.

We have referred to the resentment of the Musalmans of Golkunda at the construction of new temples in Hyderabad. It was only to these new temples that Aurangzeb's order applied. On the capture of Bijapur, similar instructions were given. That no old temples were destroyed is proved by the fact that, the temples built by the old Hindu kings within the forts of Golkunda and Karimnagar, have not been touched either by the Sultans of Golkunda or by Aurangzeb. They are still intact and attract Hindu worshippers every day.

Maharashtra Temples.

During his wars with the Marathas, Aurangzeb demolished some of their temples in punishment for their rising, but no old temple within the Mughal territory was destroyed.

Mosques destroyed by Sivaji.

Though Khafi Khan says that Sivaji took care not to demolish any mosques, we learn from a Maratha source that mosques were in fact destroyed by the latter. Describing the expedition of Afzal Khan against the Maratha leader, the author says: "Then hearing that Sivaji, with a large and well-equipped army, had himself taken post in Javli and was awaiting battle, Afzal sent a message to him. Afzal said:— ....You took Kalyan and Bhivandi, and, they say, *destroyed the mosques of the Muhammadans.*

Not considering the limits of your own strength, you restrain the holy men of the Muhammadans, and fearlessly obstruct the way of the Muhammadans." (40)

(40) Source Book of Maratha History Vol. I, p. 69. The above extracts are from Shiva-Bharat, Chapter XVIII, an epic poem commemorating the achievements of Sivaji—written by Paramananda. It has been published by Mr. S. M. Divekar with a Marathi translation by Mr. R. D. Desai.

With regard to the temples demolished before the accession of Aurangzeb, it should be observed that Shahjahan had, during his reign, sent a *firman* throughout his dominions for the demolition of new temples, and Aurangzeb had to carry out the order.

Amidst all the din and noise about Aurangzeb's bigotry his attitude *vis a vis* the Jesuits, the Jains and the Sikhs deserve notice.

The Jesuits.

The Jesuit Fathers had bought a piece of land in 1613 for a church at Lahore. When it was reported to Jahangir that the Portugese had captured Muslim cargo ships from Mecca, he gave an order for the expulsion of the Fathers and closed the church. After eighteen months, the Fathers rejoined the King's favour and the church was given back to them. A *firman* was then issued (1626-A. D.) ordering that twelve bighas of land in Mozang at Lahore, formerly bought by Father Joseph la Castro were to be returned to him free from all revenue and imperial taxes. In the fourteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign (1672 A. D.), a *parwanah* was issued with the seal of Fida Khan, exempting the Fathers from all taxes. (41) In the 37th year of his reign, a *parwanah* was issued with the seal of Asad Khan, exempting the Fathers at Agra from the capitation tax. (42)

The Jains.

The following account is taken from a Memorial submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by "the Managing Representatives of Seth Anandji Kalianji, the acknowledged representatives of

(41) Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, p. 20; see Plate 4 and 6.

(42) Ibid, p. 30: See Jizyah, post.

the Jain community of India in reference to the grievances about their rights *re* the Shatrunjaya Hill." (43)

"In the second year of Shahjahan's reign" runs the memorial, (page 2) "a Sanad of general protection to the Jains from obstruction in their religion was issued. In the 30th year of the reign of Shahjahan, Murad Bux, a *Subah* of Gujarat, granted a *sanad* reciting that the village of Palitana was granted as an Inam to Shantidas, a Jain Jeweller (the direct ancestor of the present President of the Representatives of Seth Anandji Kallianji). When Murad Bux * became the Emperor in 1658 A.D., he confirmed the grant of the Palitana Purgunnah to Shantidas and his descendants, and the said grant was further confirmed by a later *sanad* of the same year by Emperor Aurangzeb." The *sanad*, as given in the Memorial, runs as follows :—

"Whereas at this time, the beginning of which is auspicious (and) the end of which will be happy, Satidas, the Jeweller, has represented to the noble, most holy, exalted (and) celebrated presence through persons who constitute the whole assembly of the Court, that whereas, according to a *farman* of His Majesty, (44) the exalted (and) as dignified as Solomon, the protector of the office of the successors (of Mohammad), the shadow of God, dated the 19th of the holy month of Ramzan, in the year, thirty-one, the district of Palitana, which is called Satrunja in the jurisdiction of the Surat Sarkar, a dependency of the Suba of Ahmadabad, (and) the revenue of which is two lacs of dams, has been settled as a perpetual *Inam* on the slave (the petitioner), (and) that he (the petitioner), therefore, hopes that a glorious edict may also be granted by our Court. Therefore, in the same manner as before, we have granted (to the petitioner) the above-mentioned district as a perpetual *Inam*. It is, therefore, incumbent on the present

(43) The Jains have one of their sacred temples on the Shatrunjaya Hill. The Raja in whose territory the place is situate levied a tax on pilgrims which gave rise to a dispute. The Raja and the Jains have, however, recently come to a settlement.

(44) *I. e.* Shahjahan.

* Murad had himself proclaimed as Emperor, but was, later on imprisoned by Aurangzeb.

and future Managers of the Suba and the above mentioned Sarkar, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance, (and) to permit the above-mentioned district to remain in the possession of the above-mentioned person and of his descendants in lineal succession from generation to generation, and to *consider him exempt from all demands and taxes and all other dues*, (and) not to demand from him in respect hereof a new *Sanad* every year, (and) they shall not swerve from this order. Written on the 9th of the month of *zikad* in the Hijra year 1068, (1658)."

Another *firman*, quoted in the *Mirat*, runs thus:— "......Whereas at this time, Satidas, jeweller, has been permitted to depart to Ahmadabad, his home, he has been ordered that, after reaching there, he should inform all the merchants, bankers and residents of that place of our justice and our solicitude for our subjects......The present and future officers of Ahmadabad are directed to see that, considering Satidas as an old servant of our empire, no one should, in any way, interfere or disturb him or other residents of the place. Dated the 1st of Zul-qada 1068 A. H." (45)

The Sikhs.

Guru Har Rai, the religious head of the Sikhs, was a great friend of Dara. When Aurangzeb came to power, he asked all the supporters of Dara to come to Court and submit loyally to him. Guru Har Rai, who was afraid of presenting himself before the Emperor, excused himself under some pretext and sent his eldest son, Ram Rai, as his deputy. Ram Rai was a well educated man and soon gained Aurangzeb's favour. "On the death of Guru Har Rai, his followers selected his youngest son as their religious chief thus passing over Ram Rai. The latter submitted a petition to the effect that his rightful claim had been ignored owing to his presence at Court. The Emperor, then, for his benefit, sent marble stones and other materials from Delhi, and caused the erection of a building in the mountains

(45) *Mirat*, 253.

near Dehra Dun. A *masnad* was prepared and Ram Rai, also assumed the religious headship. The place is now known as Dehra Guru Ram Rai." (46) The following account is given in the District Gazeteer of Dehra Dun:—

"Guru Har Rai, died in 1661, leaving two sons, Ram Rai and Harkishan, the former about fifteen years of age and the latter about six. Both claimed the succession, and as Ram Rai was the son of a hand-maiden and not of a wife of equal rank with the mother of Harkishan, the latter was chosen to succeed their father. Ram Rai refused to abide by the election and disputes ran so high that it was agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Aurangzeb, who comfirmed the election and sent Ram Rai away disappointed but resolved not to abandon his pretensions to the spiritual leadership of his sect." (47)

Guru Gobind Singh, after the battle at Chamkuar, sent a petition in Persian verse to Aurangzeb who expressed his regrets and, it is alleged, issued a *firman* declaring that the Sikhs were a harmless people, having no enmity with any sect, and ordering that no one was thereafter to interfere with them. (48)

The Parsis and the Christians.

Alexander Hamilton who was in India during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, speaking of the Parsis, declares that they enjoyed religious toleration. As regards Christians, he says, that *they were free to build churches and propagate their religion*, but he adds that those who got converted to Christianity did not have enviable morals.

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(46) *Tarikh-i-Punjab.*

(47) Dehra Dun District Gazeteer, 1911 edition.

(48) See The Sikhs, post.

No persecution for religion's sake.

Full toleration for Hindus.

"*The Gentows*," *writes Hamilton*, "*have full toleration for their religion, and keep their fasts and feasts as in former times, when the sovereignty was in pagan princes' hands..................There are above an hundred different sects in this city* (*Surat*) *but they never have hot disputes about their doctrine or way of worship. Every one is free to serve and worship God their own way. And persecutions for religion's sake are not known among them.*" (49)

Three points emerge from the discussions in this chapter. (1) That the destruction of sacred places is not countenanced by the Islamic Law.

(2) That owing to narrow interpretation of the Law, later Muslim Jurists, while allowing the preservation of old temples, forbade the construction of new ones. Most of the temples in Aurangzeb's reign were destroyed in consequence of the above order.

(3) Many others were destroyed during the suppression of a rising or rebellion to effect an early submission of the rebels.

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(4) A New Account of the East Indies, Vol. I., pp 159, 16?, 163.

CHAPTER V.

JIZYAH. (1)

The Muslim rulers of Hindustan had levied *jizyah* on the Hindus but it was abolished by Akbar and re-introduced by Aurangzeb. There were two objections to this tax. In the first place it was a symbol of inferiority and meant a punishment of the non-Muslims for not accepting Islam. Secondly, it was an oppressive tax.

Before proceeding with the genesis, history, and application of the *jizyah*, it is necessary to point out that some of the Muslim chroniclers have given an invidious meaning to the term and have distorted its real significance. As they were unduly fond of exaggerating things which heightened their religious vanity, it would be unsafe to take their effusions too seriously. *Jizyah* is derived from the Aramaic of the Iraq in the Aramaic form "*gazita*," and in this form it occurs in Dionysius Tem in Assemani (Vol. 2, page 194) and often in later Syriac authors. (2) '*Gazita*' was a poll-tax; when the Persians conquered Mesopotamia they retained the tax. The Persian kings employed Syriac, *not* Persian, as the government language in the Iraq. This made the conquest and settlement of the country by the Arabs much easier as the two languages were similar. In old Persian books, we often come across the word *gazit*. Firdausi speaks of *gazit* in his epic poems, and says that very few Persians were exempted from the tax. (3) Ibn-ul-Asir, writing about

Jizyah, its Derivation.

(1) For *Jizyah* see Sir Thomas Arnold's article in the Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion, Vol. 9, pp. 765-769; also Aghnides Introduction to Muhammadan Law (Columbia University, 1916) pp. 398 *et-seq*.

(2) I am obliged to Dr. Krenkow of Muslim University, Aligarh, for the above information.

(3) *Shahnama*, Edition Vullers V. 1497, 1541, etc.; also in the portion attributed to Daqiqi (ed. Turner Makam) p. 1590 line 6 from bottom; p. 1621, etc.

Anushervan, the Persian king, says "He got the whole land surveyed, and imposed *jizyah* on every one with the exception of the army and government officials."

Gazit sometimes appears as *sar gazit* in old books; [(4)] the pronunciation "*Gizyat*" in Persian is a re-introduction from the Arabic form. *Jizyah*, therefore, is older than the Sasanian kings, and was not used in an offensive sense.

The first mention of *jizyah* is in the ninth chapter of the Quran, verse 29:—

"Make war upon such of those, to whom the Scriptures have been given, as believe not in God, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His apostles have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the Truth, until they pay *jizyah* with their hand and be subdued."

This verse, isolated from its context has been mischievously interpreted. A careful reading of the preceding verses with reference to the general tenor of the chapter will, however, reveal the significance of the above injunction. The Prophet and his followers had undergone terrible sufferings at the hands of their countrymen, who persecuted them for not worshipping their gods. The more he preached against the gross idolatry and immorality of his people, the greater was the ridicule and scorn, to which he was subjected. But he remained true to his cause and ultimately triumphed over the superstition of his people. He settled down at Medina, and made treaties with the

(4) See Lexicon Persico-Latinum, Vol. II. By Vullers, Bonn edition 1864.

(p. 283) خراج قیصر و روم است و سر گزیت خلم
بهائے بندگي رام رائے با جیپال
(p. 999) گهش خاقان خراج چین فرستد
(شیخ نظامي) گهش قیصر گزیت دین فرستد

Jews, who solemnly promised not to molest him in his place of retreat. But the stipulations were soon thrown to the wind, and the Jews assisted the enemies of the Prophet during the siege of Medina. Several other tribes, for instance the tribes of Banu Nazeer and Koreiza also broke their treaties. Their treachery is referred to in the following verses of the Quran (Chapter VIII). Verse 58. "They with whom thou hadst leagued, but who ever afterwards break their league, and fear not God!"

Verse 59. "And if thou capture them in battle, then (by the example of their fate) put to flight those who are behind them—they will perhaps be warned."

Verse 65. "O Prophet! God and such of the faithful as follow thee will be all-sufficient for them!"

Verse 66. "O Prophet! speak to the faithful that they might fight!"

In the next chapter, *i.e.*, the 9th, the description of the treacherous tribes is continued and we come to the verse first quoted, "Make war......until they pay *jizyah* with their hand, and be subdued." Later on we find :—

"Believers! Wage war against such of the unbelievers as are your neighbours, and let them assuredly find rigour in you, and know that God is with those who fear Him." (Verse 124.)

It will be clear why the Prophet waged his wars and why he wanted "those whom Scriptures have been given" to pay him tribute. According to the commentators of the Quran, the treacheries mentioned in the 9th chapter refer to the Jews of Khyber, who had broken treaties with the Muslims.

Paid in lump sum.

Jizyah was not originally a poll tax. *It was paid in a lump sum by a village or by a tribe by way of tribute.* When Islam had gained a footing in Arabia and emerged out of obscurity, many tribes entered into a pact with the Caliphs and *voluntarily agreed* to pay *jizyah* as the price of protection to be given to them against their enemies. Whenever the Musalmans had to fight with the Romans in Syria, they always exacted tribute (*Jizyah*) from the towns. Later on, when their fiscal system became fixed, *jizyah* came to be a capitation tax. "The explanation of *jizyah* as a capitation tax," writes Caetani, "is an invention of later jurists, ignorant of the true condition of affairs in the early days of Islam." (5) *Jizyah* used to be collected by the head of the village or the tribe, and he was free to make assessment according to the paying capacity of the assessees. When in the reign of the Umayyid Caliph, Hisham, Transoscania was conquered, "the Jew's tax was collected by the chief Rabbi, that of the Christians by the Bishop, and that of the Magians by the Marzuban. The Muslims, on the other hand, were made liable for the land tax. Thus Nasr the Muslim Governor) introduced into Khorasan the distinction of *jizyah* (poll-tax) and *kharaj* (land-tax), which were identical." (6) From a passage in the *Chacha-nama* we find that Muhammad bin Qasim the Arab invader of Sindh, had entrusted the collection of the tax to the Brahmans.

Wrong interpretation

There have been theologians who have distorted the meaning of the verse, "Make war.....until they pay *jizyah* out of hand and be subdued." The degrading prescriptions regarding the method of payment evolved out of the fertile brain of some of the bigoted theologians, are due to distorted interpretations of

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(5) Anali delle Islam Vol. 4, p. 610; Vol. 5, p. 449.

(6) Muir's Caliphate (1924 edition), 395.

the Quranic verse. But these interpretations were not allowed to remain unchallenged.

A Muslim scholar, Ibn Qasim-al-Ghazzi, has strongly criticised the violent effusions of some of the commentators on this verse (ix, 29). He protests against the fanatical glosses on the Quranic words and holds that the words "being subdued" implies conformity to the laws of Islam with reference to the *zimmis.* There being no evidence that the Prophet or any Caliph acted harshly towards the *zimmis*, he held that the rough treatment sometimes inflicted on them was against Islam and unlawful. (7) Al-Shafii is also of the same opinion.

The lucubrations of bigoted theologians were often more intolerant than the actual practice of the State. They protested against every leniency shown towards non-Muslims. Complaining against the toleration extended to the Christians in Egypt in the 8th century, an Egyptian theologian writes, "The *ulema* consider this state of things; they weep and groan in silence, while the rulers who have the power of checking these criminal abuses only shut their eyes to them." (8)

The reactionary attitude of the theologians is not a peculiarity of Islam. Every religion has produced theologians who wished to show no mercy to the followers of other creeds, but it must not be assumed that the State has been always guided by their advice.

Jizyah, a tax in lieu of military service.

As previously noticed, *Jizyah* has undergone a change. Caetani writes, "*Jizyah* originally meant a round sum paid by the inhabitants of a village as a tribute, but afterwards became a poll-

(7) *Hashya Alsharah Ibn Qasim Al-Ghazzi*, p. 326, (Cairo 1296).
(8) Journal Asiatique, 4e series, tome 19, p. 109. (Arnold).

tax paid by those who were non-Muslims, and therefore could not serve in the Muslim army." (Vol. IV. p. 612.) At another place he writes, " From Papyri, dated 80 to 90 *Hijra*, it appears that the *jizyah* was intended for the payment of the army." (9) A Muslim governor demanded the payment of *jizyah* on the ground that he had to pay his troops. (10)

Writing about *jizyah*, Dr. Arnold says, " This tax was not imposed on the Christians, as some would have us think, as a penalty for their refusal to accept the Muslim faith, but was paid by them in common with the other *zimmis*, or non-Muslim subjects of the State, whose religion precluded them from serving in the army, in return for the protection secured for them by the arms of the Musalmans. When the people of Hirah contributed the sum agreed upon, they expressly mentioned that they " paid their *jizyah* on condition that the Musalmans and their leader protect us from those who would oppress us, whether they be Muslim or others."

" How early this condition was recognized may be judged from the following incident in the reign of the Caliph Umar. The Emperor Heraclius had raised an enormous army with which to drive back the invading forces of the Muslims, who had in consequence, to concentrate all their energies on the impending encounter. The Arab General, Abu Ubaydah, accordingly, wrote to the governors of the conquered cities of Syria, ordering them to pay back all the *jizyah* that had been collected from the cities and wrote to the people saying " We give you back the money that we took from you as we have received news that a strong force is advancing against us. The agreement between us was that we should protect you, and as this is not in our power, we return you all that we took ; but, if we are victorious, we shall consider ourselves bound to you by the old terms of our agreement " In accordance with this order,

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(9) Caetani, Vol. 5, p. 449.

(10) وقد استاخرت الجزيه و حضر عطاء الجند و عطاء عيالهم

(*i.e.*) (You have delayed the payment of the *jizyah*, though I have to pay the troops and their families), Papyri Scott Reinhardt, ed C. R. Becker, p. 58 (Heidelberg, 1906.)

enormous sums were paid back out of the State Treasury, and the Christians called down blessings on the heads of the Muslims, saying, "May God give you rule over us again, and make you victorious over the Romans; had it been they, they would not have given us back anything, but would have taken all that remained with us." (11)

"The *jizyah* was levied on able-bodied males in lieu of the military service they would have been called upon to perform had they been Musalmans, and it is very noticeable that, *when any Christian people served in the Muslim army, they were exempted from the payment of this tax.* Such was the case with the tribes of Jarajimah, a Christian tribe in the neighbourhood of Antioch who made peace with the Muslims promising to be their allies and fight on their side in battle on condition that they should not be called upon to pay *jizyah* and should receive their proper share of the booty."(12)

"We find similar instances of the remission of *jizyah* in the case of the Christians who served in the army or navy under the Turkish rule. For example, the inhabitants of Megaris, a community of Albanian Christians, were exempted from the payment of this tax on condition that they furnished a body of armed men to guard the passes over Mounts Cithaeron and Geranea, which led to the Isthmus of Corinth; the Christian inhabitants of Hydra paid no direct taxes to the Sultan, but furnished, instead, a contingent of 250 able-bodied seamen to the Turkish fleet. The Southern Roumanians, the so-called A. matoli...... ....were exempt from taxation on condition of supplying an armed contingent in time of war. In the same spirit, in consideration of the services they rendered to the State, the capitation-tax was not imposed upon the Greek Christians, who looked after the aqueducts that supplied Constantinople with drinking water. *On the other hand, when the Egyptian peasants, although Muslim in faith, were made exempt from military service, a tax was imposed upon them as on the Christians.*" (13)

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(11) When Cyprus was taken during the reign of the third Caliph, "the Cypriots agreed to pay the same revenue as they had done to the Emperor (of Rome), *and the Caliph, unable as yet to guarantee their protection, remitted the poll-tax*" Muir's Caliphate (1924), p. 205.

(12) How much truth is there in Sarkar's remarks, 'A *Zimmi* must pay other exactions for the maintenance of the army, in which he cannot enlist even if he offers to render personal service instead of paying the poll-tax" Vol. 3, p. 286.

(13) Preaching of Islam (edition 1913) pp. 60, 61, 62.

Even in a country like Baluchistan, in consideration of the payment of the *jizyah*, the Hindus enjoyed religious toleration. "They were free from persecution and molestation; in any dispute with the tribesmen, they could appeal to their protector or the headman for a fair hearing and a fair settlement The honour of their women was respected; their religion was tolerated; no one tampered with their customs." (14)

We read the following in the Encyclopædia of Islam (p. 1051): " *Jizyah* originally meant the collective tribute levied on conquered lands. The Arabs everywhere left the administrative conditions, which they found unchanged, and *regarded the revenues of the province as their Jizyah*. The distinction which, later, became usual between *jizyah* as a poll-tax and *Kharaj* as a land tax did not at first exist, for our authorities frequently speak of a *Kharaj* from a poll-tax and a *Jizyah* from land. According to the Arab view, the *Jizyah* was a poll-tax......... Now *a poll-tax existed before the conquest in the conquered lands, Sassanian and Byzantine*, but the main source of revenue and licence of the tribute was the land-tax which bore the Aramaic name of *Khraga*. This term was identified with the Arabic *Kharaj*. With the consolidation of Arab power, *Kharaj* gradually became the term applied to the land-tax, which, with the gradual conversion to Islam of the subjected peoples, *came to be levied on Muslims also and thus lost its tributary (Gizyah) character*. ...... *Jizyah* existed in Turkey down to the time of the Crimean war. By the Law of 10th May, 1855. (F. Banberg, Geschichte der Oriental Augelegenheit, p. 263) the *Jizyah* as a tax on the free exercise of religion (?) was replaced by a tax for exemption from military service. '

We have noticed the derivation and history of *jizyah*, and it is sufficient to affirm that it was not 'a tax on the free exercise of religion.' Banberg's remark that in Turkey *jizyah* was replaced by a tax for exemption from military service, is based on an erroneous conception. In the preceding pages cases have been cited in which Christian Ottoman subjects were exempt from the *jizyah* on their agreeing to perform some kind of military service. What happened in 1855 was that instead of a religious ordinance hitherto

(14) Census of India, 1911, Vol. 4. Baluchistan, Part I, p 175.

recognized, the question of exemption from military service was placed on a purely political footing.[15]

New converts paid *jizyah*.

The theory of the obnoxious nature of *jizyah* is entirely repudiated by the fact that when the Arabs consolidated their power, "financial considerations compelled the Arab government, towards the end of the first century, to insist on the *new converts continuing to pay jizyah*, even after they had been received into the community of the Faithful."[16]

Treaty with Arab tribes.

When non-Muslim tribes made treaties with the Prophet, and agreed to pay *jizyah*, the following stipulations were made:—

(1) They will be protected against their enemies;
(2) They will not have to go to the collector to pay the *jizyah*;[17]

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(15) Sarkar writes, "The theory of some modern writers that the *Jaziya* was only commutation money paid for exemption from military service is not borne out by history, for it was as late as 10th May 1855 that "the *Jaziya* as a ax on the free exercise of religion was replaced by a tax for ex mption from military service even in European Turkey." (III, 312 Note). Solely relying on Banberg, the learned author has chosen to discard all available evidence in relation to *Jizyah*. Banberg's remarks are "not borne out by history."

(16) Preaching of Islam, p. 60.

(17) How different was the opinion of Muslim divines of Aurangeb's time, who held that the *Zimmis* must pay the *Jizyah* personally, that the money should be refused if sent through an agent, that the tax-payer should come on foot and make the payment standing, while the payee should remain seated, and that the receiver, placing his hand above that of the *Zimmi* should take the money and shout 'O, *Zimmi* ! pay the *Jizyah*."—(*Mirat*, 191-a.)

There is no evidence that the *jizyah* was collected in the manner prescribed above, all the pious wishe of the fossilised bigots notwithstanding.

The degrading prescriptions noted above were not the innovation of Aurangzeb, but formed part of the "model" rules enunciated by theologians We find a mention of the same rules before Aurangzeb during the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. (*Basatin*, 355).

(3) Their life, their property, their merchandise and their land will be inviolable ;

(4) Their priests will not be removed from their places ;

(5) Their churches will be free from all interference ;

(6) They will not be forced to change their religion. (18)

Aurangzeb's critics.

When we come to deal with Aurangzeb, the question naturally suggests itself as to why he levied the tax at all when the Rajputs wielded the sword side by side with the Mughals and the Hindu soldiers fought the imperial battle in comradeship with the Muslims? Even granting that there was some justification for the imposition of *jizyah* in the early days of Islam, there was no necessity for its revival in a country overwhelmingly non-Muslim. Besides, circumstances had changed and India was not Arabia. Such are the criticisms against the injudicious act of Aurangzeb.

The non-imposition of the tax for many years after Aurangzeb's accession clearly suggests that the Emperor appreciated the current situation and was, perhaps, not unconscious of the benefits of political expediency. Aurangzeb might have continued this policy were it not for the fact that he had undertaken the task of vivifying Islam in India and bringing the faithful rigorously in line with its doctrines and tenets. He had ascended the throne, according to his own confession, not as a political personage, but as the saviour of his religion, and, consequently, his energies were soon directed towards religious matters. His reformative zeal affected not only the Musalmans, but the Hindus as well. Gradually, the conservative element at Court secured a preponderating influence,

(18) *Kitab-ul-Kharaj* by Abu-Yusuf.

and the theologians and the ecclesiastics ruled the day. They grew in strength and power and displayed Aurangzeb as the paragon of Muslim piety. Their delectable remarks were followed by the suggestion that the *jizyah* should be revived. Though the fact has often been overlooked, *the idea first originated not with Aurangzeb, but with the learned theologians.* Ishwar Das, who was intimately known to the chief Kazi, writes, "The learned theologians, looking to His Majesty's piety, pointed out the propriety of levying the *jizyah*, which was necessary according to Islamic law. His Majesty, therefore, thinking its imposition binding upon him, appointed Enayetullah Khan for its regulation." (19)

Theologians demand imposition

A Muslim historian writes, "As the entire attention of His Majesty is directed towards strengthening the Faith and the propagation of the Canonical Law, and all the affairs of the State, financial and political, have been moulded according to the holy law, the theologians, looking to the religiousness of the Emperor, pointed out the necessity of imposing the *jizyah* on the *Zimmis* of the imperial dominions, and presented a statement to His Majesty based on the books of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) as regards the rate and method of collecting the *jizyah*." (20)

Having been hailed as the champion of Islam, Aurangzeb could not refuse to promulgate an order binding by the Islamic law which he so strictly desired to follow. This consideration had a predominant influence over his mind, and it was impossible for him to give a negative answer. The proposal was, however, considered not only from the religious, but also, as there are reasons to believe, from the financial point of view.

(19) *Futuhat*, 73, 74.

(20) *Mirat*, 190-a.

Abolition of 80 taxes

Hindu pilgrims, who flocked to their sacred places had to pay a large sum to the Government. According to Manucci, the Mughals took Rs. 6/4 from every pilgrim at Allahabad. (21) Aurangzeb abolished this tax along with others, eighty in number, such as proceeds from fines, presents, pasturage, road tax, ferries, etc., some of which were a great source of trouble to the public though they swelled the state exchequer. Some of the abolished taxes yielded 25 to 30 lacs of rupees every year. (22) "Every pagoda" says Muncci, "paid to the king every year a considerable sum. It was very undesirable, he (Aurangzeb) said, to levy such a tax, for thereby it looked, as if he approved of idolatry. He, therefore, directed that such a tax should never more be collected." (23) There was also a tax on carrying the bones of dead Hindus for being thrown into the Ganges. (24) This was abolished by Aurangzeb.

Jizyah, a financial consideration.

Aurangzeb had relieved the people from many liabilities, but he had soon to reconsider his decision. At the time when the treasury had lost a considerable amount of money, the imposition of the *jizyah* was suggested to him. The proposal suited him both from the religious and from the financial standpoints. According to Aurangzeb, the imposition of the *jizyah* was binding on him, while other taxes were not compulsory. By remitting other taxes and levying *Jizyah*, he thought he would be able not only to adjust his finances, but discharge a religious obligation as well.

Hindu servants exempted.

That the *jizyah* was not intended to bring about the forced conversion of the Hindus is further proved by the fact that the

(21) II, 82.

(22) K.K. II, 87—89; Mughal Administration, 96; *Mirat* (Litho) 226, 265.

(23) Manucci, II, 61.

(24) Mughal Administration, 105.

servants of the State were exempted from payment This exemption can be explained on the principle that there was no reason for levying it from those who discharged their duties towards the State by service in the civil departments and the army. Ishwar Das says, " His Majesty issued an order that, excepting servants of the State, other non-Muslims should pay at the following rate:—From the rich having an income of Rs. 2,500 Rs. 13 should be taken; from the middle class with an income of Rs. 250, Rs. 6-8; from the poor having an income of more than Rs. 52 and leaving a margin above the cost of supporting himself, his family and children, Rs. 3-4 should be taken."

With reference to the imposition of the *jizyah*, Manucci says, "Aurangzeb did this for two reasons. First, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns; secondly, to force the Hindus to become Mohamadans." (25)

(25) Manucci II, 234. Sarkar says, " By imperial orders, the *jizyah* was reimposed ....in order, as the Court historian records, " to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity " (Vol III 308). The *jizyah* was never imposed to spread Islam, as the author thinks. It was levied by a religious minded emperor only because, in his opinion, its imposition was binding on him. The imperial order is wrongly quoted. The learned author has given the correct version of the order in the foot-note on page 312, Vol. III, which runs as follows: "All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders, etc." There is a world of difference between " the spread of Islam " and " the spread of the law of Islam." There is not a vestige of proof that " the officially avowes policy in reimposing the *jizyah* was to increase the number of Muslim by putting pressure on the Hindus." The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* from which the order has been quoted was *not* written at the instance of Aurangzeb and cannot be considered an 'official history.' The use of state papers by the author of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* cannot make his history 'official.'

" The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, another history, based upon official papers"' says Sarkar, " ascribes the same motive (*i. e.* the putting of pressure, on the Hindus!) to the Emperor." I have already quoted the *Mirat* which

The Hindus strongly protested against the imposition of the poll-tax. In India every new tax is resented, and in the case of the *jizyah*, its sinister significance, based upon mistaken notions, intensified the insult to which they thought they had been subjected. (6)

Easy payment of *Jizyah*.

The *jizyah* was not mercilessly collected. The poor were required to pay only when their income left a surplus over and above the cost of maintaining themselves and their families. Moreover, the middle class could pay in two instalments, and the poor in four; they could also pay in kind and if any one was ill for six months, he was free from all liability. (27) Further, if after he assessment of the tax, a year had elapsed and the *jizyah* had not been collected for some reason other than the carelessness of the collectors, and the second year had begun to run, the arrears of the first year were not

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clearly speaks of the propagation of the holy law, as evidenced by the following text:—

چون همگي همت والا نهمت حضرت اقدس اعلی بر تقویت
دین مبین و رواج شرع متین مصروف ز جمیع امور سلطنت و معاملات
مالی و ملکي را در قالب شرعیه در آورده رائج میگردانیدند و درین
آوان علما و فضلا و فقها نظر بر دین پروری آنحضرت داشته در باب اخذ
جزیه بعرض رسانیدند

There is no basis for the remarks that "the officially avowed policy was to increase the number of Muslims." As to Manucci, he is worthy of little credit. His bias against Aurangzeb is patent enough. The exemption of Hindu servants, civil and military, is a proof conclusive of the fact that in India the *jizyah* was not a tax on beliefs and its imposition was on well-defined principles enunciated in preceeding pages.

(26) "The character of the tax,' writes Tod, "though much altered from its original imposition by Aurangzeb, when it was at once financial and religious, was held in unmitigated abhorrence by the Hindus from the complex association." (I, 315).

(27) *Mirat*, 191-a & b.

to be realised. But if the assessee refused to pay the tax on account of his refractoriness, he was liable to pay the *jizyah* for both the years. (28)

It was once reported to the Emperor that the people of Hyderabad, owing to poverty, were unable to pay the *jizyah*. Aurangzeb thereupon ordered complete immunity from all kinds of taxes for one year. (29)

Jizyah collected in Bijapur.

Though Akbar had abolished the *jizyah* in his empire it continued to be in force in Bijapur. Its imposition by the Sultan is noticed by a historian and the rules relating to the tax correspond to those which prevailed later in the Mughal territory.

An important rule in force was that the assets of a deceased person were never appropriated in payment of the tax. (30)

As previously explained, the poor paid Rs. 3¼ on every fifty-two rupees that they saved, after maintaining themselves and their families. About the end of the 17th century, the 'poor,' meaning by that the artisans, labourers, servants, and factory workers, could easily maintain themselves and their families on about Rs. 4 a month, which was the current rate of wages (31) The artisans, labourers and factory-workers, therefore, must have been exempt from the *jizyah*, as their income did not leave the required margin of Rs. 52 above the cost of maintaining themselves. To put it in another way, those who had enough means for maintaning themselves and their families for two years had to pay Rs. 3-4 to the State. The assertions that " the State...........annually

(28) *Mirat*, (Litho) 321.

(29) *Futuhat*, 111-b.

(30) *Basatin*, 355.

(31) This assumption is based on the fact that servants and peons in Gujarat were paid Rs. 4 monthly in 1690. See, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* by W. H. Moreland, p. 173; A Voyage to Surat by Ovington, p. 392.

took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence, and that the *jizyah* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the State" do not accord with facts. (32)

The imposition of the *jizyah* was based on the principle that the Muslims were always liable for military service, while the non-Muslims were not. But if the latter were willing to undertake the service, they were exempted from the payment. According to Canon Law, every Muslim of military age is bound to join the army on the declaration of a *jihad*; those who are unable to join must pay *kafara* or money by way of atonement. We have an instance on record in which the Musalmans were willing to pay *kafara*, but Aurangzeb refused to accept it. During the wars with the Marathas, a circular was sent to some of the governors ordering each of them to send one thousand horse for

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(32) Sarkar, III 307 and 311.

According to the learned author, the rate of the *jizyah* was equivalent to "the money value of 9 maunds of wheat flour." But all available data indicate that the normal rate of wheat was somewhere about 80 or 85 lb. per rupee. (See, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 171, 172 and 173). The above rate prevailed in Gujarat till 1660, and there are no indications that it changed in 1679-80. Thus Rs. 3¼, the lowest amount of the *jizyah*, purchased 3¼ maunds of wheat which, according to Sarkar's calculations, could support a man for four and a half months only. But one could not live on wheat alone. If we take into consideration the price of fuel and other necessaries, it will be found that Rs. 3¼ would have sustained a man for about a month and a half. The rate of wages which ranged between Rs. 2 and 4 is a sure indication of the current standard of living.

It is misleading to say that "for the poor, the incidence of the tax was 6 per cent of the gross income." In the first place it was a *fixed* tax *Even if a man earned Rs. 200 or more every year, he had to pay Rs.* 3 *only.* In case he earned Rs 100 per annum, he paid Rs. 3¼ for after deducting the cost of maintaining himself and his family, Rs. 52 was left, which was the standard of taxation.

I am unable to find any basis for the conclusion that in Gujarat the *jizyah* meant an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the State.

the royal cavalry. All of them complied with the order, but the governor of Ahmadabad, named Shujaat Khan, petitioned the Emperor, stating that the people under his charge were unwilling to start on a distant campaign, and were ready to pay, in order to be exempted, two lacs of rupees which he forwarded to the Court, (33). At the same time Murad Khan, *faujdar* of Gudra, in the province of Ahmadabad, showed his anxiety to hasten to the battlefield with the required contingent. " Both these letters were read to Aurangzeb," writes Khafi Khan, " and Shujaat Khan fell under royal disfavour. It was ordered that the *faujdars* of Ahmadabad should be at once degraded, and the following letter was despatched to Shujaat Khan :—" Pity on your senile wisdom that you—whom I have elevated to governorship at a time when I am engaged in punishing the infidels, and when it is the duty of every Musalman to help the King of Islam, and when I ordered you to raise a thousand horse at the expense of the State—should hold back and indulge in excuses......The true servants of the State deem their presence at Court as part of their religious duty. It is the time that you should desist from all undesirable thoughts and send your adopted son along with the required contingent." (34)

Priests exempted.

That the *jizyah* was not a tax on belief is conclusively proved by the fact that the priests and religious heads of non-Muslim communities were generally exempted from the poll-tax. We learn from a Coptic source that Ali Ibn Isa, the famous Vazir of the later Abbasid Caliphs, wanted to impose the tax on " all the monks and the poor and the feeble, and

(33) If the people of Ahmadabad were willing to pay rupees two lacs, was the sum of 5 lacs of rupees, paid by the Hindus of the entire province of Gujarat, excessive ?

(34) K K, II 478—480.

all the monasteries in the lower valley of the Nile, and the bishops and monks that were in the monastery at Mina." These ecclesiastics had hitherto enjoyed an exemption from this tax. When Ali attempted to levy it, "they sent a delegation to Bagdad to protest, and were answered with a confirmation of the privilege." (35)

In India, Muhammad bin Qasim had exempted the Brahmans from the payment of the *jizyah*, but the tax was imposed on them by Firoz Shah (36) There is no indication to suggest whether the Hindu priests in the time of Aurangzeb were untaxed or not. But in view of the fact that Christian priests were exempted from the *jizyah*, it is probable that the Brahmans were also exempted from the payment of the tax.

The Christian priests of Agra had been exempted from the poll-tax. In the 37th year of Aurangzeb's reign, a *parwanah* was issued reaffirming their old privilege (37)

Apart from the 'complex association' connected with the *jizyah* and strong Hindu protests against its imposition, there is no instance on record in which such facilities for payment were provided as in the case of the hated poll-tax.

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(35) *Life and Times of Ali Ibn Isa* by Harold Bowen 255—256.

(36) Elliot, I. 476.

(37) Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, p. 30.

Parwanah No. 8 from Aurangzeb with the seal of Asad Khan: "The present and future officers of the capitation tax (taken from) the *Zimmis* residing in the permanently established capital, Akbarabad, should know that *before this* according to the account book of the late Ruhullah Khan regarding the exemption of the capitation-tax from five Padres in number with their dependants, a *parwanah* to the address of late Sheikh Muhammad Said, the late *Amin* of the capitation-tax of that place, had been written. Nowadays the Vakil (Agent) of the Padres (has made) a request that this present Amin asks for a *sanad* (addressed) to his own name. He (the Vakil) hopes that a *parwanah* to the address of the present and future officers of that place be given. It is, therefore, ordered that in the matter of taking capitation tax from Rator and other Padres, they *according to the former order* should not hinder them. In this matter they should take as much case as possible. 9th Jumada II 37th year of reign."

APPENDIX B.

SIVAJI AND THE JIZYAH.

When Aurangzeb took the field against the Rana of Chittor, who had given an asylum to the infant son of Jaswant Singh and demanded the payment of the *jizyah*, the Rana is said to have written a letter to Aurangzeb " in a style of such uncompromising dignity, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime or condition." The Rana is said to have written, " During your Majesty's reign many have been alienated from the empire, and further loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot and every province of your empire is impoverished, depopulation spreads and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles ?" (Tod. I, 323). Sarkar attributes this letter to Sivaji and calls it "temperate and reasoned" (*sic.*) "*My excellent services and devotion to the welfare of the State*," wrote Sivaji with a true sense of humour, "are full known to the Princes, *Khans*, *Amirs*, *Rajas*, and *Rais* of India, to the rulers of Persia, Central Asia, Turkey and Syria to the inhabitants of the seven climes of the globe

....

..........................It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that *jizyah* should be collected from the Hindus.....................In your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, *and the rest will soon do so, because there will be no slackness on my part in raiding and devastating them.*' (*III, 327-339.*)

We need not put too much strain on the credulity of the reader by giving the letter a label of genuineness. It is full of rank censure and rabid abuse; it is unthinkable that a person endeavouring to make a dignified protest would be so injudicious as to write a letter in such a tone. The genuineness of the letter can be judged from the fact that no two copies of it agree in their contents and its authorship is attributed to four different persons The Royal Asiatic Society Ms, 71, ascribes the authorship to Sivaji A.S.B. Ms. 56, to Shambhuji, Orme's Fragments, 252, to Jaswant Singh, and Tod I, 323, to Rana Raj Singh of Udaipur.

The letter could not have been written by Sivaji. It is presumed that he was asked by Aurangzeb to pay the *Jizyah*, and hence the letter

of protest. Now *jizyah* was imposed on 2nd April 1679, and in that very month Diler Khan, the Mughal commander, captured the fort of Bhupalgarh belonging to Sivaji. (*Sivaji and his Times*, 415.) Even before that date, there was no peace between Aurangzeb and Sivaji. Sambhuji had fled from Panhala and joined Diler Khan. From April to July, there was no actual encounter between the Mughals and the Marathas but there is nothing to show that a truce had been made. From August 1679 till the death of Sivaji, there was a constant clash of arms between the Mughals and the Marathas. Under these circumstances, can it be believed that Aurangzeb would have asked the Maratha leader to pay the *Jizyah*? Sarkar says, "About the middle of this year Shivaji sent to Aurangzeb a well-reasoned and spirited letter of protest against the *jazia*." (Sivaji, 415.) No authority has been quoted in proof of the assertion that the letter was written about the middle of the year 1679.

Sivaji is supposed to have writen, ' If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus you ought first to levy *jizyah* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me as I am at your service." It is clear from the above that Sivaji was asked to pay the *jizyah*, while the Rana was not. But we know for certain that the Rana *was* asked to pay the tax. According to Khafi Khan, ' an admonitary *firman* was sent to Rana of Chittor asking him pay the *jizyah* and to turn out the sons of Raja Jaswant ' (K. K. III. 261). We are further told that the Rana offered to pay the *jizyah* after which Aurangzeb returned to Delhi (Ibid, 262). The divergence between Sivaji's supposition and the actual fact is clear enough. If instead of Rana Raj Singh, however, we put the name of Raja Ram Singh, the obscurity is explained away. Tod's version of the letter is as follows : "If zeal for your religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought by rules of equity to have been made first upon Ram Singh. Then let your well-wisher be called upon to pay with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter." The writer of the letter is correct about Ram Singh, as being a State servant he was exempted from the *jizyah*. But according to Sarkar, the mention of Ram Singh is an error, as "no Jaipur chieftain could have been 'the head of the Hindus." In the face of such discrepancies it is difficult to believe in the genuineness of the letter.

The extent of the writer's information is indicated by the fact that in the letter, as quoted by Sarkar (III. 328), "paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken" have been shown as assessees of the *jizyah*. We know for certain that the people mentioned above were exempt from the tax.

According to the *Basatin*, the *jizyah* was levied by Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. We are not told if Sivaji ever thought of writing a ' temperate and reasoned letter of protest to the Sultan, who was his close neighbour.

Apart from the criticism against the letter itself, it will be intriguing to know as to how the 'spirited' epistle was handed over to Aurangzeb. We know that there was no penny post in India then. Who was the messenger who took the letter to the Mughal Court? The truth is that the letter is transparently spurious and as Elliot says (Vol. 7, p. 294) "It is not improbable that it is the work of some private Hindu politician, who chose this way of publishing a sort of manifesto against the government."

APPENDIX C.

When was Jizyah Imposed?

According to Khafi Khan, *Jizyah* was imposed immediately after the suppression of the Satnami rebellion. As Khafi Khan and the author of the *Ma'asir i-Alamgiri* differ about dates, it is necessary to determine the date of the Satnami rebellion.

In K. K. the account of the Satnamis is given on page 252, Vol II, and the date noted on top-margin is 1082 Hijra, which is manifestly wrong. If we open page 247, we will find 1084 on the margin. This is correctly noted, as on the 4th line from the bottom mention is made of an event in the 17th year of the reign. Page 248 also bears the same date, *i. e.*, 1084 Hijra, but on page 249 we find the date changed. Instead of 1084 we find 1082 Hijra, though, in the text there is no hint of the last date. From page 249 to 258 the error in date is continued, and 1082 Hijra has been mistakenly accepted as the date of the Satnami rebellion. If the 17th year of Aurangzeb's reign is continued from page 247 to page 252, then the date on top-margin should be 1084 Hijra, and, consequently, the rebellion should be held to have occurred in the same year. But, I think 1084 Hijra is not the correct date of the Satnami rising.

According to the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, the Satnami rebelled in the 15th year of the reign, *i. e.*, 1082 Hijra, and Radandaz Khan was sent against them on 26th *zul-qada* of the same year (M. A. 113-114). Prof. Sarkar calculates the above dates as May 1672 and March 1673 respectively. (III. 336 and 340.) But 1082 Hijra or 1672 A. D. is not the correct date of the rebellion.

Khafi Khan explicitly says that when the Emperor was *returning* from Hasan Abdal, there was a dispute between a Mughal soldier and one of the Satnamis which later on developed into an insurrection. We have, therefore, to determine the date of Aurangzeb's return to Delhi.

	According to K. K. Vol. II.	M. A.	Sarkar Vol. III.
Aurangzeb leaves for Kabul.	(*a*) End of 16th year of reign (page 233) =Shaban, 1084. (*b*) Beginning of 17th year (p. 237)= Ramazan, 1084.	11th Muharram of 17th year (p. 132) =11th Muharram 1085 Hijra.	26th June 1674. (p. 270).

	According to K. K. Vol. II.	M. A.	Sarkar Vol. III.
Returns from Hasan Abdal.	(c) "Left Hasan Abdal after three years, in the end of 18th or 19th year" (p. 241). =Shaban 1086 or 1087 Hijra. (d) End of 16th year (p. 246). This is evidently a misprint.	22nd Muharram 1087 (p. 154).	27th March 1676 (p. 276).

According to Orme, Aurangzeb "marched from Delhi, as near as we can combine in April 1674.' (Fragments, 51; 67.) Later on, he writes, "Aurangzeb returned himself to Delhi, from whence he had been absent 27 months, which, according to our computation extended to July of the year 1676." (Ibid. 67.) Orme's dates agree more with Khafi Khan than with the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.* I think the Satnamis rebelled in the beginning of 1676 A. D. and according to Khafi Khan, the *Jizyah* was imposed in 1677.

The Satnamis were, therefore, suppressed about the end of 1676 or the beginning of 1677.

In one of the letters written between September 1674 and January 1675, Dr. Fryer says, "Even at this instant, he (Aurangzeb) is on a project to bring them all over to his faith, and has already begun by too severe taxes, very severe ones, especially upon the Brahmins, making them pay a gold rupee per head and the inferior tribes proportionately." [39]

Referring to the Parsis in the same letter he says, "They were in hopes of exemption from the present poll, pretending their Law agreeable to the Moors, but that would not free them from the tax." (Vol. I. p. 293.) Later on, under the date December 31st, 1679, Dr. Fryer writes, "The rains are this year set in with that violence that the very tops of the trees hereabouts are all under water; and since the great Mogul by reason of these interruptions cannot go on to overcome the Pagans, he wreaks his malice by assessing them with heavy polls that are not of his faith under his dominions." (Vol. III p. 163.) At another place he says, "The Mogul continues a double poll on the heathens this year.' (Vol. III. p. 166.)

39 A new account of East India and Persia, Vol 1, 275.

In a letter, dated Surat, 18th of November 1679, an officer in charge of the English factory writes :—

"The great zeal of the King for the propagation of the Mohammadan religion hath made him put a general tax upon all persons; the first and the poor sort at the rate of 3½ Rs. a head, the second at Rs. 6¾ the last at Rs. 13½. [40]

The statements of Fryer and Khafi Khan cannot be reconciled with those of other authors. The description of the tax by Fryer distinctly refers to *jizyah* and not to any other impost or custom duty.

Elliot also records the imposition of *jizyah* immediately after the rising of the Satnamis. According to his calculation, the Satnamis rebelled in 1087 Hijra =1676 A. D. (Vol. VII. p. 289) while *jizyah* was imposed in 1088 Hijra =1677 A. D (Vol. VII, p. 294).

According to the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, (p. 174), the *jizyah* was imposed in the 23rd year of Aurangzeb's reign, *i. e.*, 1090 Hijra, or 1679-80 A. D. *Ma'asir ul-Umara* records the imposition of *jizyah* in the same year, but probably the date is based on the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*.

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (folio 190-a) does not give the date of the *firman* recording the rate and method of collecting *jizyah*. After describing the pursuit of the Rana of Chittor by the imperial army in 1090 Hijra =1679-1680 A. D. the author says that during this time the theologians submitted a statement to His Majesty for the collection of *jizyah* from the *Zimmis*."

Manucci notices the imposition of *jizyah* after the death of Jaswant Singh, and according to his statement the date should be placed in 1679 A. D. This will agree with the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. I think 1679 is the correct date of the imposition of the *jizyah*.

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40 India Office records, O. C. 4675.

CHAPTER VI.

DISCRIMINATIVE REGULATIONS.

Customs Duty.

According to Khafi Khan, "An ordinance was issued altogether abolishing *mahsul* on merchandise belonging to the Musalmans. After a few days, in accordance with the suggestions of *Diwans* and jurists, it was ordered that all articles belonging to Musalmans, the value of which did not exceed the *nisab* or Quranic minimum (Rs. 52-8-0), should be free from duty, but, if the price of commodities exceeded the *nisab*, customs duty should be levied. On the representation of the *Diwans* that the Musalmans were bringing their merchandise by instalments (so as not to exceed the minimum), and were passing the goods of the Hindu traders as their own property, thereby occasioning the loss of *zakat*, it was ordered that in accordance with the *previous practice* and in conformity with the Canon Law, 2½ per cent. should be taken from the Musalmans and 5 per cent. from the Hindus" [1]

Though Khafi Khan speaks of 'previous practice,' we have not come across any instance of discriminatory imposts before Aurangzeb. The rules of Canon Law relating to customs duty are thus explained by a European savant, "According to the strict law of Islam, customs duty is forbidden and yet everywhere customs-offices were found. The jurists solved the difficulty by bringing customs duty under the heading of poor-tax (*zakat*)—at all events, so far as the Muslims were concerned. Hence the fiction that a merchant could have free passage across the frontier for a year, should he pay customs duty once during that year." [2]

It is noticeable that the term *zakat* was applied to poor-tax as well as to customs duty. The difference between

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1 K. K. II. 229-230.

2 *Renaissance des Islam* by Metz.

the two lay in the method of their collection and disbursement. While a man was free to give away money due as *zakat* to the poor according to his own choice, he had no option in relation to customs duty; the latter must be paid to the State; and it was the State alone which had the right to spend the money. Another difference was that if a man made a declaration that he was in debt and that nothing exceeding the Quranic minimum would be left to him after the discharge of his debt, or that he had already paid the money to the poor, he was exempted from *zakat.* But in relation to customs duty on merchandise no declaration or affidavit was of any avail; it must be paid at all cost. The payment of *zakat* was religiously obligatory, while customs duty was only a secular tax. An important point in relation to *zakat* and customs duty needs to be stressed. While *zakat* was levied on a man's entire wealth or income, customs duty was payable only on merchandise; only traders and merchants were directly affected by the latter. *Zakat* had, therefore, a wider scope than customs duty. As the Musalmans had to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their income as *zakat*, they were required to pay only half of the current rate of customs duty which, in the case of the Hindus, was fixed at 5 per cent.

It is no doubt a fact that the money from *zakat* could be spent on Muslims alone. But *zakat* formed one of the sources of revenue for the Treasury known as *Bait-ul-mal*; and there are innumerable instances on record which show that money from *Bait-ul-mal* was spent both on Muslims and non-Muslims.

According to Khafi Khan, as previously noticed, in the case of Muslim traders, customs duty was at first altogether abolished; subsequently, only articles below the Quranic minimum were exempted; but ultimately all goods were taxed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the case of Muslims and 5 per cent.

in that of Hindu vendors. As against the authority quoted above, it is alleged that Aurangzeb first originated the discriminating rate of duty, and subsequently made an exemption in the case of Musalmans.[3] The latter view is based on the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* in which the royal order is thus quoted : "As in the matter of *mahsul sayer*[4] which is collected in the imperial dominions, it was reported to His Majesty that at every place a different practice prevailed, a royal order was issued on the 4th of Shavwal, 1075 A. H. (1675 A. D.) that collections should be made at the rate of 2½ per cent. from the Muslims and at the rate of 5 per cent from the Hindus; and the collectors should exempt all goods (*Ajnas*) the value of which did not exceed Rs. 52½ ; and that nothing should be demanded from merchants on account of *rahdari*."[5] Two years later, an exemption was made in favour of Musalmans, while the Hindus remained liable to taxation as usual.[6] We, however, learn from the same authority that in the 25th year of Aurangzeb's reign, the following *firman* was sent to a governor : ".........Before this orders were issued for the exemption of the Musalmans from the payment of *zakat*. As it has been reported to His Majesty that some of the Musalmans, for the sake of earthly gain, are passing the goods of the Hindus as their own, thereby occasioning loss to *Bait-ul-mal*, and as some of them avoid payment of *zakat*,

3 Sarkar, III, 313.

4 Imposts on manufacture of reputable kinds were called *jihat zakat* (customs) and the remainder (*sayer jihat*) commonly called *sayer* (miscellaneous). "In its original purport, the word *sayer* signifies moving, walking, or the remainder ; from the latter it came to denote the remaining or all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax, from a variety of imposts, as customs, transit dues, house fees, market, etc., in which sense it is current throughout India." (Jerret's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 58)

5 *Mirat* (Gackwad's Oriental Series), pp. 258-259.

6 Ibid., 265.

which is obligatory,......it is ordered that, subject to the rules, *zakat* should be collected from Muslims at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. [7]

Khafi Khan's sequence of events is thus proved and confirmed by the author of *Mirat*, and is further supported by Manucci who says, "There is a second customs duty upon goods brought by Hindu merchants ; it is five per cent. ; and though Aurangzeb had remitted it for Mahomedans, he has not failed all the same to take two and a half per cent. from them. He makes those whom he had exempted pay the rents and customs duty." [8]

We have no definite information as to the class of goods to which the discriminative rate of tax was applied, but we know that, if the price of a commodity was below the *nisab* or Quranic minimum (Rs. 52 8), it was free from all imposts. Duties on fish, milk, vegetables, oil, tobacco, fuel, etc., were abolished in 1673, along with other illegal cesses or *abwabs*, about seventy in number. [9]

It is interesting to compare the rate of tax on goods sold during Hindu and Muslim periods respectively. Aurangzeb did not collect more than 5 p. c. of the value of a commodity, but Chandragupta realised ten per cent. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Selukos to the court of Chandragupta, has given us an excellent account of the institutions of India. Describing Pataliputra (now Patna), Megasthenes says, "Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything related to the industrial arts............The sixth

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7 Ibid., 298-299. The above *firman* does not relate to *zakat* proper, but to *zakat* as customs duty, as no authority has power to exempt a Musalman from the payment of the poor tax, the rate of which is fixed by the Canon Law.

8 Manucci, II, 417.

9 *Mirat*, 286.

and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the article sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.[10]

The system of raising revenue by means of tolls and duties is a very old one. It had the sanction of the Hindu law-givers, and formed part of fiscal arrangements under the Muslim administration. Customs and transit duties were always regarded by the people in general as vexatious. We find that in the Maurya Empire, "the merchant was mulcted in dues at the frontier, by road-taxes and tolls, and by the octroi at the gates of the cities". (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 478). In the Muslim period Firoz Shah Tughlaq, Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb issued edicts against the collection of burdensome levies, but their persistence clearly indicates the perennial conflict between the central authority which repeatedly remitted the oppressive taxes, and the local administrators, who collected them for their own requirements. Outside the Mughal Empire the system was " more oppressive than within its borders." (Moreland).

There is some confusion about the use of the term *zakat* in relation to customs duty. By a legal fiction, as previously noticed, customs duty was incorporated under the category of *zakat*. In Akbar's *firman* prohibiting the collection of illegal cesses, the word *zakat* is used.[11] Early in his reign, Jahangir abolished several duties, and the specified term used by him is *zakat-i-mir bahri wa tamgha-i-rah*.[12]

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10 *The Fragments* of Megasthenes were collected and edited by Schwanback under the title of *Magasthenes Indika* (Bonn, 1846); and translated by McCrindle in *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. (Trubner, London, 1877).

11 *Mirat* 171-172.

12 Ibid., 184 ; *Tarikh-i-Jahangiri*, Ms. No. 306, . O. L.

Khafi Khan has applied both the words, *mahsul* and *zakat*, in relation to customs duty. [13] There is a reference to *zakat* as regards a tax on the sale of horses in the *Mirat* which applies both the terms *mahsul* and *zakat* to customs duty.[14] Shihabuddin Talish also uses the word *zakat* in his continuation of *Fathiyyah-i-ibriyyah* : "From the first occupation of India and its ports by the Muhammadans to the end of Shahjahan's reign it was a rule and practice to exact *hasil* from every trader,.........: to collect house-tax from new-comers and hucksters, to take *zakat* from travellers, merchants and stable keepers."[15]

In *Ganj-i-Rashidi* (252-255), the word *zakat* is used in relation to sale and purchase of goods. "*Zakat*," writes Moreland, "which occasionally appears in the commercial correspondence in forms such as *jagat*, properly denotes an income tax recognized by Moslem law, but at our period its peculiar meaning had come to be a duty levied, not at fixed intervals of time, but at uncertain intervals of space."[16] "The duties on internal transit stand in a different position ....These duties are a very common topic in the commercial reports, where they are spoken of as *rahdari* or *jagat*." [17]

It is clear from the above that *mahsul* and *zakat* were interchangeable terms. I think that they have reference mainly to four imposts: 1. Inland transit duty. 2. A tax levied on articles of food brought within the limits of any town. 3. Duties on the local sale of produce and goods. 4. Customs duty collected at sea ports. Imposts 1 and 2 were abolished in 1660 and 1673 respectively.[18] As regards No. 3,

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13 K. K. II, 229-230.

14 *Mirat*, 296, 339.

15 *Studies in Mughal India*, 161.

16 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 284, note 2.

17 Ibid., 286 and note I.

18 K. K. 87-89, 212; *Mirat*, 286.

I think that duties on some produce and goods were realized as *abwabs* or cesses, many of which were abolished by Aurangzeb. As regards No. 4, the English merchants at Surat paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. [19] This duty was, later on increased to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. which, according to Orme, "was intended to equal their rates to the poll-tax established on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, in the Empire."[20] But Hamilton says, "The customs on Mahometan goods are two in the hundred, on Christians three and three-quarters, but the Christians are exempt from paying poll-money, but the Mahometans are not, nor Gentows, who pay 5 p. c. customs on their goods."[21]

It is difficult to say what Hamilton means by 'poll-money' but it seems that some classes of 'Mahometan goods' were charged at the rate of 2 p. c., others at the rate of 5 p. c.

Fairs.

On the strength of a statement by Khafi Khan under the date 1668, it is alleged that Aurangzeb forbade Hindu fairs throughout his dominions.[22] An analysis of the evidence, however, will show that the charge is groundless. Speaking of the remission of vexatious taxes early in Aurangzeb's reign, Khafi Khan writes "His Majesty abolished *rahdari* and *pandari*......and forbade the collection of proceeds from markets (held during) *Urs* and *Jatra* (pilgrimages) of infidels, several lacs of whom used to congregate once during a year at their temples, and used to sell and purchase goods, as well as the income from intoxicants gaming-houses, wine-shops, etc..............which brought karors of rupees to the imperial treasury." [23] Ten

19 Ovington, 150.

20 *Fragments*, 96.

21 *A new Account of The East Indies*, I, 163.

22 K. K. II, 212.

23 Ibid , 88.

years later, the same author, after noticing how Aurangzeb had forbidden the writing of the annals of his reign, says, "However, I will give a brief description of the Emperor. Every day His Majesty showed such a solicitude for the enforcement of the holy law that *successive* orders were issued against the collection of *rahdari* and *pandari*, etc. ......and for uprooting the use or habit (*rawaj*) of intoxicants and wine-shops and against the collection of *jatra* when innumerable men and women of every denomination used to gather every year on a specified date at the temple of the Hindus, and goods worth lacs of rupees used to be sold and purchased yielding large amount as *mahsul* to the treasury." [21] This last order is held responsible for the prohibition against the holding of fairs in the Mughal dominions. But a comparison of the two quotations noted above will reveal the fact that the two statements are not only identical in phraseology, but deal with the same subject, *i. e.*, the remission of taxes. The words 'collection of *jatra*' in the last quotation have been read as something separate and distinct, while in reality they meant *proceeds* from the collection of *jatra*. Though the language is a little involved, yet it is evident from the context that it was the tax from the *jatra* that was abolished, and not that the Hindu pilgrims were stopped from visiting their holy places.

Hamilton's testimony.

Alexander Hamilton, whom we have previously quoted, bears testimony to the fact that "the Gentows have full toleration for their religion, *and keep their fasts and feasts as in former times, when the sovereignty was in pagan princes' hands.*" He further says, "they (*i. e.*, the Hindus) had several feasts when I was there, but one they kept on sight of a new moon in February exceeded the rest in ridiculous actions and

21 K. K. II, 212.

expense, and this is called the feast of Wooly (Holi)." (Vol. I, 127).

From the testimony of Sujan Rai of Batala who wrote his book *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* between 1695 and 1699 A. D., it is clear that fairs were regularly held and pilgrims used to flock to places of pilgrimage throughout the Mughal dominion.

"Thirty *kos* from Sirhind is the ancient town of Thanesar......On the day of Solar Eclipse large numbers of people, high and low, great and small, male and female, assemble here from all parts of the world and all sides of the country and from remote distances." (*India of Aurangzeb* p. 15). Speaking of Hardwar, the author says, "Every year, on the day when the Sun enters the sign of Aries,—which is called Baisakhi,—people from every side assemble here (Ibid. 19). "Fifteen *kos* from Sialkot is Purmandal. It is sacred to Mahadev. When the Sun enters the sign of Virgo, large numbers of people, coming from all sides of the world, form a great gathering." (Ibid. 97).

Fairs not prohibited.

The following graphic description of a fair by Sujan Rai disproves the oft-repeated statement that Aurangzeb "forbade fairs throughout his dominions":—

"Two *kos* from Batala is Achal, a place sacred to Syam Kartik; it is an old shrine. Here is a large lake the water of which rivals that of *kausar* in pleasantness and good taste. At the commencement or middle of (the Sun's journey in) the Libra, which is the time of the equinox and the merry season among the men of the world, thousands of mendicants of austere devotion and many anchorites bent upon benefiting others, come to this place. And all classes of people, fashionable, respectable, great and small, male and female, having come from all parts of the country,

assemble together for six days. This vast crowd of men and assemblage of private and public personages covers leagues (of ground)........Multitudes by beholding the beauty of the moon-faced fairy-like (fair ones), gratify their wishes. Groups of pleasure-seekers and lovers of good cheer fill the stomach of their desire with every sort of eatables...... And in this merry gathering, in one part of the bazar, on the two sides of the road, are arranged on trays and dishes many kinds of eatables, comfects, fruits of spring and autumn, perfectly sweet and fresh. In another quarter of the assembly, music, song, dance, and pantomime delight the sight-seers and the audience. At another place, clever buffoons and eloquent story-tellers by their rare speeches excite the laughter of the spectators. At another place jugglers of extraordinary capacity perform strange and clever tricks in sleights of skill and rope-dancing.........In another quarter the bazar grows warm with the buying and selling of many kinds of arms, accoutrements, and the various implements used by men and women and children's toys.........Undoubtedly this is a sight to behold." (Ibid. 91-92.)

It is evident from the above description that fairs were not stopped, nor was there any restriction about the "collection of *jatra*."

Note.

Khafi Khan's statement has been wrongly interpreted. The two orders mentioned by Khafi Khan are noted here:—

I

نظر بر نامیت حال خلق الله ، ترحم بحال رعایاے شکسته احوال حکم معافی
راهداری که بر سر هر گذر و سرحد ، معبر آبها می گرفتند ، مبلغ خطیر حاصل آن
واصل خزانه میگردید ، پاندري که در هر ماه ، سال صیغه کرایه زمین و مکانے که همه
اصناف گران ، کاسبان ممالک محروسه از قصاب ، کلال ، سبزي فروش گرفته تا بزاز
، جوهري ، صراف که بر هر گل زمین بازار ، سر رشته نشسته ، دکان ساخته خرید ،

فروخت مي نمودند در سرکار بدستور معمول چیزے میدادند زر ملی زیادہ از لکها عاید
بیت خراج میگردید و ابواب مشروع و نا مشروع دیگر مثل سر شماري و بر شماری و
برگدي و چرائي بنجارہ و طرعانہ و حاصل ایام بازار عرس و جاترہ کفار که در
معبد خانهاے هنود پرگنات دور و نزدیک هر سال یکبار چندین لک آدم فراهم آمدہ
خرید و فروخت اجناس مي نمودند و زر مسکرات و قمار خانه و خرابات خانه و جرمانه
و شکرانه و چهارم حصه وجه اداے قرض که باعانت حکام وصول قرض خواهان مي شد
وغیرہ قریب هشتاد بابت که از همه ابواب زیاد از کرورها داخل خزانه سرکار میگردید
از قلمرو هندوستان معاف فرمودند – (K. K. II, 87-88)

II

بهر حال مجمل از احوال آن پادشاہ خجسته خصال بزبان خامه صدق مقال
میرسد - روز بروز در اجراے امور شرعي و پاس اوامر و مناهي آلهي بمرتبه تقید
مي نمود که متصل هم احکام براے منع اخذ راہ داري و پاندري وغیرہ که لکها حاصل
آن در سرکار واصل میگردید و بر انداختن رواج مسکرات و خرابات خانها و اجتماع
جاترہ کفار که هر سال در روز و تاریخ معین در معبد خانهاے هنود زن و مرد زیادہ از
اندازہ شمار هر قوم فراهم مي آمدند و لکها مال بخرید و فروخت میرسید و مبلغ کلی
محصول آن در هر صوبه داخل خزانه مي شد صادر مي فرمودند - (K. K. II 212)

A comparison of the two quotations will convince the reader that Khafi Khan, in his second statement, is only recapitulating what he had previously mentioned. As the first statement speaks of the proceeds from *rahdari*, *pandari*, *jatra*, etc., it can be safely inferred that in the subsequent statement dealing with the same subjects, the incomes from the same sources were meant to be implied. This argument receives further support from the fact that in the second statement we find the words 'successive orders', which clearly proves that Khafi Khan in his second statement is only repeating the orders that he had already mentioned. And it is evident that Aurangzeb's orders, early in his reign, related to the proceeds from *jatra* and not to the stoppage of the *jatra* itself.

It has been wrongly held that Hindu fairs were abolished. The word used by Khafi Khan is *jatra* which does *not* signify 'fair.' It means pilgrimage, and no historian has so far asserted that Aurangzeb forbade

Hindu pilgrims from visiting their holy places. It does not appeal to reason that Aurangzeb allowed a large concourse of people to visit their sacred shrines, and yet stopped them from making a sale or purchase of eatables and other things daily in use. It is unthinkable that people coming from far and near had only two alternatives before them, starvation or pilgrimage. In a fair there are not only booths for precious goods, but the sweet vendor, the fruit-seller, the milkman, the grocery dealer, all have their stalls for the convenience of the devout pilgrims. To have stopped a fair was to abolish pilgrimages, which was never done. The stoppage of fairs is a historical heresy based on a wrong interpretation of a single authority.

There are instances in which contemporary historians have often turned a regulation applying to a particular locality or necessitated by particular circumstances into a general order and permanent law of the land. The *holi* celebration, for instance, was not stopped as is asserted by Khafi Khan, (II, 214) and Manucci, (II, 154) There being an apprehension of breach of peace, some police orders were promulgated regulating the festival. Hamilton's description of Holi, which he characterises as a 'mad feast,' must dispel all doubts about the celebration of the important festival.

It is appropriate to point out that Aurangzeb's reforming hand fell heavily on the Muslims also. As a large number of women used to congregate at the tombs of saints, Aurangzeb issued orders forbidding their visit to those places. (*Mirat*, 168-b). Before Aurangzeb, Firoz Tughlaq had issued similar orders "that no woman should go out to the tombs under pain of exemplary punishment." (Elliot and Dawson, III 380). We will find that most of Aurangzeb's regulations were due to his reforming zeal and not to bigotry.

Hindus forbidden to ride *palkis* and horses.

The allegation that the Hindus were forbidden to ride *palkis*, thoroughbred horses, or to carry arms, is based on a wrong interpretation of Aurangzeb's orders. The first prohibition against riding palanquins is noted under the date 1104, Hijra=1693 A. D. "The royal order was issued," writes Mustaid Khan, "that no one, except the princes and the nobles, should approach the *gulalbar* on a palanquin without the permission of His Majesty."[25] As the *gulalbar* or the Red Enclosure was that part of the camp where the Emperor resided, the above order was issued not only to maintain the dignity of the sovereign, but also as a precautionary measure. It is noticeable that the order makes no discrimination between Hindus and Muslims. Later on, the same author notices in the year 1695 A. D. that "a *firman* was circulated throughout the camp and the provinces that, excepting the Rajputs, the Hindus should not ride elephants, *palkis* and thoroughbred horses, and should not carry arms."[26] Khafi Khan writes under the date 1102, Hijra=1691 A. D. "It was ordered that the Hindus should not ride *palkis*, and thoroughbred horses without permission."[27]

The two authors mentioned above differ from each other in the following respects :—

1. There is a difference of four years in dates.

2. Khafi Khan records no restrictions against riding elephants or carrying arms.

3. Mustaid Khan makes an exception in the case of the Rajputs, while Khafi Khan mentions a general prohibition against riding palanquins without any exemptions.

25 M. A. 354.
26 M. A. 370.
27 K. K II, 395.

On a comparison of the three versions previously noticed, I think Khafi Khan's statement, dated 1691 A.D., and Mustaid Khan's second statement under the date 1695 are only variants of the order that " no one except the princes and the nobles should approach the *gulalbar* on a palanquin without the permission of His Majesty." A *palki* was the only conveyance for long distances in India, and to have placed restrictions on its use would have had the same effect as to disallow any section of people from travelling by rail to-day.

Ovington, who left India in 1693, says, "Those whose wealth is able to support it, are pompously carried upon men's shoulders in palanquins, whose carriage is as easy and pleasant as that of our chairs in the streets of London, but far surpasseth them in point of state and quick despatches of a journey. ....When they take the air, either in palanquins or otherwise, they usually frequent the coolest groves, and the pleasant gardens adjacent to the city." [28] Describing a Hindu wedding, Ovington remarks, " When the joyful bridegroom and the bride, with their costly equipage and pompous train, have marched thro' the principal places of the city, in public view of all spectators, seated upon some delicate Indian horse, or *Persian* or *Arabian* steed, ambitiously courting the eyes and observance of all as they pass along......they turn about to the bride's habitation, where they enter, and are seated opposite to one another in two chairs, with a table put between them." [29]

Aurangzeb was not moved by any religious bias in adopting measures of expediency in contrast to a practice current in some parts of India in medieval times. Chacha

28 *A Voyage to Surat* by Ovington, (Oxford University Press, 1929) p. 152.

29 Ibid. p. 193.

was one of the rulers of Sindh, and we find that "though he spared the Samani (*i. e.* the Buddhists), he was a bigoted Hindu, and his usurpation appears to have been actuated by religious motives also. The *Chachanama* relates that Chacha, while at Brahmanabad, made certain rules by which he degraded the turbulent Lohanas and Jats in social position. He made it a rule that they should not carry swords except on occasions of urgent necessity, that they should not wear silken cloth, that they should use scarfs of black or red colour, that they should ride horses without saddles, that they must walk bare-headed and bare-footed, that they must always, when they went out, have with them dogs to distinguish them, and that they should supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, and serve as guides and spies." "The story," writes Vaidya, "is well founded that Chacha made these rules. Many tribes of Jats go about bare-headed still. Even in Rajputs times the Jats were not allowed to cover their heads with turbans or to wear red clothes or to put a crown on the head of their bridegroom or to put a *nath* in their women's nose. The practice had the sanction of the Hindu Sastras also, the Vasistha Smiriti embodying to our mind the prevailing practice of the period "[30]

30 *History of Medieval India*, I, 164, 165, 184.

CHAPTER VII.

FORCED CONVERSIONS.

Toleration in Islam.

People, unacquainted with Islam and its principles, have too often attributed its expansion to brutal physical force. Terrorism and persecution are supposed to be responsible for the spread of Islam, and the number of its votaries is often alleged to have been swelled by forced conversions. The Quran never advocated proselytisation by force; on the contrary, the recognition of different revealed religions gave to Islam a religious ground for toleration. Says the Quran :

" Men were of one religion only, then they disagreed with one another." (X. 20).

" Dispute ye not, save in the kindest manner, with the people of the Book ; save with such of them as have dealt wrongly (with you) ; and say ye, " we believe in what has been sent down to us and hath been sent down to you. Our God and your God is one, and to Him are we self-surrendered." (XXIX. 45).

" But if thy Lord hath pleased, verily all who are in the world would have believed together. *Wilt thou, then, compel men to become believers?*" (X. 99). The above injunctions prove, if proof was ever needed, that forced proselytisation is not a merit in Islam.

Two Pictures.

If there have been Musalman rulers in India who made forcible conversions, instances are not wanting where Muslim kings allowed perfect liberty and freedom of conscience. Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, known as the Idol-breaker, entrusted the management of his kingdom to his Vazir, Shivdev, a Muslim who was originally a Brahman. The Vazir with all the fanaticism of a new convert intensely persecuted the Hindus and turned

out of the country many Brahmans who refused to become Musalmans. Temples were destroyed and the Hindus were put under severe disabilities. When, however, Sultan Zainul-Abidin, the son of Sikandar, became king, he cancelled all the repressive laws against the Hindus and allowed them complete liberty of conscience, with the consequence that all those who had been forced to embrace Islam regained their former religion. [1] *Jizyah* was abolished and slaughter of cows was prohibited throughout the dominion.

Aurangzeb: his critics.

It is commonly believed that Aurangzeb exerted pressure for the forcible conversion of Hindus. Most of the distasteful incidents of Indian history have been attributed to Aurangzeb with the result that even some of the sober historians have allowed their judgment to be warped by injudicious sentiments. Speaking of Aurangzeb's feigned piety and dissimulation, Orme writes, "This hypocrisy increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mohammedan subjects the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword. Labour left the field and industry the loom, until the decrease of the revenues induced Aurangzeb to substitute a capitation-tax as the balance of account between the two religions." We will discuss whether Aurangzeb used force or sword for the conversion of the Hindus.

List of converts.

In the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, mention is made of about half a dozen new converts, and in no case is there a suggestion of forcible conversion, as evidenced by the following list:

(1) When Gokla Jat was executed for rebellion, his daughter was married to Shah Quli, and his son, named Fazil, became a hafiz (M. A. 94). [2]

1 K--T. 303-304; T—H. V. 96-98.

2 According to Islamic law, a rebel forfeits his life, but if he embraces Islam, his freedom may be restored to him.

(2) Ikhlas-Kaish, *Vaqaya-nigar*, who was one of the pupils of Mulla Abdullah of Sialkot and through his influence had accepted Islam, was honoured with the above title. (M. A. 220).

(3) Brij Bhukan Qiyamuddin Khani renamed Dindar was given the charge of the prayer-house (*Jai-namaz-khana*) on the transfer of Ikhlas-Kaish. (M. A. 270).

(4) Khwaja Abdul Rahim presented the two sons of Bindhachal, brother of Ramrai, Munshi-Fazil. before His Majesty. They accepted Islam and were named Sa'adatullah and Sadullah. On the next day, the Khwaja, in compliance with the royal order, took the two converts round the city on an elephant to the accompaniment of music. (Ibid. 273).

(5) Hidayat-Kaish Bholanath, the new convert and son of Chattarmal, was appointed *Vaqaya-nigar*. (Ibid. 396).

(6) Bahar Singh, who accepted Islam during the end of Aurangzeb's reign, was honoured with royal favours and the title of Murid Khan. (M. U. II. 281).

(7) Gopal Singh Chandawat, the Zamindar of Rampur in Malwa, was serving in the imperial army in the Deccan. When he sent his son Ratan Singh to manage his affairs at home, the latter rebelled against the authority of his father, and made himself master of Rampur. Gopal Singh appealed to the Emperor without any success. He then left his post and tried to regain his ancestral property. In the meantime, Ratan Singh had embraced Islam through Mukhtar Khan, the governor of Malwa, was named Islam Khan, and the Zamindari of Rampur was conferred on him. Gopal Singh's attempt to regain his ancestral property by force of arms ended in failure and at last making his submission to the Emperor, he was appointed *faujdar* of Kaulas in Haidarabad.

(8) In the 17th century, Deogarh, in the centre of Gondwana about 50 miles north of Nagpur, occupied a

prominent position. When the annual tribute fell into arrears, Aurangzeb sent an army under Dilair Khan against the Raja in 1667. The Raja made his submission and agreed to pay one karor of rupees as an indemnity. Some portion of the war contribution remained unpaid and Dilair again marched into Gondwana. The Raja fled and the country was occupied by the Mughals. Through the influence of Dilair Khan, however, the Raja embraced Islam and the Raj was restored to him in 1670.

In 1686, one of the claimants to the State of Deogarh became a Muslim with the title of Buland Bakht and was installed as a Raja. (M. A. 273). In 1691, Buland Bakht was, for some reason, deposed, and the throne was given to Dindar, a Muslim Gond. Buland Bakht remained in the imperial camp till 1696 when he slipped away and raised the standard of revolt. (K. K. II. 461).

Though the Zamindari of Deogarh was given to Dindar, he proved defiant. With the help of the Raja of Chanda, another state in Gondwana, Deogarh was captured and Dindar was put to flight. Kan Singh, the second son of the Raja of Chanda 'secured the throne of Deogarh by turning Muslim (under the name of Raja Neknam) and promising to pay up Dindar's arrears of tribute, besides a present of 17 lacs of rupees.'[3]

Barring one or two more names, the above is a complete list of new converts who forsook their religion, it is alleged, on account of the pressure brought on them by the bigoted Emperor.

Conversions: how made.

It is evident, however, from the details given above that some Mughal officers tried to gain the Emperor's good-will by doing a little missionary work on their own account. If the proselytes were moved to change their religion by the

3 Sarkar, V. 408.

promptings of worldly advantage, the theory that force was employed during the process of conversion carries its own refutation; and his faith must have had a very light hold on a man who bartered away his conscience for the sake of filthy lucre.

In the period under discussion the conception of a purely political state was wholly lacking. In fact, it is only in recent years that some progress has been made in establishing a state on a purely secular basis. In the process of secularisation, however, much more tyranny and despotism have been brought to bear on the masses than was possible in the worst days of theocracy. The policy of granting Raj and Zamindari to those among the claimants who consented to become Muslims provides material for harsh comment. But the attitude of the Raja of Chanda throws a lurid light on the prevailing passion of the time. On Dindar's defiance of imperial authority, the Hindu Raja of Chanda conquered Deogarh, and in his anxiety to secure the state for his own family, he allowed his second son to become Muslim.

In the establishment of a Muslim state amidst a Hindu population, Aurangzeb visualised the perpetuation of the Mughal rule. In his view, a Muslim chief was a surer guarantee of peace than a Hindu Raja; the former could be more relied upon during storm and stress than the latter. But this was a vain hope. In that romantic age when it was open to the meanest man with an abundance of dash and pluck to carve out a kingdom for himself, the considerations of race and religion were more often than not thrown to the wind, alliances were as readily formed as dissolved and everything was sacrificed at the altar of expediency. The truth of the above observation is proved by the career

of Buland Bakht who lived to give enough trouble not only to Aurangzeb but to his successor as well.

Aurangzeb opposed to pressure.

It cannot be doubted that, as a Muslim, Aurangzeb was anxious to propagate Islam in India, but he was opposed to conversion by pressure, as evidenced by his letter preserved in the *Adab.* One Indarman, the zamindar of Dhandera, was on account of refractoriness, imprisoned by Shahjahan in the fort of Asir. When Aurangzeb went to the Deccan as Viceroy, Indarman prayed for his release on the payment of Rs. 50,000 and promised to be loyal to the Emperor. Aurangzeb wrote a strong recommendation to Shahjahan for the acceptance of the offer. But the latter insisted on Indarman's conversion to Islam as the one condition for release. Aurangzeb did not countenance the idea of conversion and wrote to Sadullah Khan, the Prime Minister, urging him to intervene in behalf of the zamindar and persuade the Emperor not to insist on Indarman's conversion. But Shahjahan remained obdurate. When, however, Aurangzeb was leaving the Deccan to contest the throne, he released Indarman and invested him with suitable *mansab.*

Ruhullah Khan.

Aurangzeb's views on change of religion are reflected in the following anecdote. Ruhullah Khan I, the son of Khalilullah Khan and Hamida Banu, and a cousin of Aurangzeb, belonged to the Shia sect. At the time of his death he made a will one clause of which was this: "I am a Sunni and have withdrawn from the practice of my (Shia) ancestors. Please wed my two daughters to Sunnis." When Aurangzeb was informed of the will, he wrote, "Hypocrisy is practised in life-time, but it is a novelty to play the hypocrite on the death-bed!" When Aurangzeb went to visit Ruhullah Khan, the latter said to the Emperor, "I

have already sent a petition to your Majesty, stating that I have been spiritually guided to the Sunni creed......I now orally pray that your Majesty may order Qazi Akram to come and carry out the washing and shrouding of my corpse" The Emperor smiled and said, "Verily love for his children has rendered this man helpless. There is no falling off in your wisdom and power of contrivance. Most probably you have made this plan in the hope that, out of respect for the pure soul of a Sunni, I shall look graciously at and show kindness to your children. But this plan can do good only if every one of them too says the same thing, (*i. e.*, accepts the Sunni creed). There is no probability at all that they would lay this shame (*i. e.*, apostacy) on themselves."

After the Khan's death, the Qazi came according to the will of the deceased. One Aqa Beg, who was outwardly a servant of the Khan, was really an expert Shia theologian. He showed the Qazi a letter written by the Khan himself which stated, "If at the time of washing and shrouding my body, the Qazi comes according to the will of this humble person and by the order of the Emperor, Aqa Beg should be appointed the Qazi's deputy for doing this work. This poor man does not venture to give trouble to His Holiness the Qazi. The mere fact of the Qazi coming to my house will be the cause of the salvation of this sinner." The above incident was at once reported to the Emperor who wrote, "At the time of his death he has cast disgrace on the whole of his past life, and spread a covering over the face of his work. It is not necessary for the Qazi to stay there. The late Khan during his lifetime had made deception his characteristic. And at his death, too, he pursued this detestable habit to the end. *What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own.*" (*Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, 137-140).

We have mentioned the names of Hidayat Kaish and Ikhlas Kaish who were converted to Islam. These men after their conversion began to behave most improperly. In a letter, Aurangzeb writes, "Hidayat Kaish and Ikhlas Andaish boast much of their being converted to Islam. But their boasting is unnecessary. The former boasts in my presence; while the latter displays a bad disposition before Prince Azam. You should make them understand (not to behave in this way). You may have heard the details of the conduct of these two ungrateful wretches towards the prince. What can be done? I gave orders according to the requests of these ungrateful wretches. But now I have issued an order to imprison them." (*Letters of Aurangzeb*, 164). Aurangzeb never failed to punish those who were guilty of improper conduct. This rule applied both to Muslims and new converts.

Conversions in Kashmir.

The exaggerated reports about Aurangzeb as a proselytizer are based more on imagination than on proved facts. It is commonly believed that the preponderance of Muslims in Kashmir is due to Aurangzeb. But the researches of an eminent author disclose the fact that, influenced by the miracles of the saint, Shah Fariduddin, the Raja of Kishtwar, became a Muslim and after his conversion, a majority of his subjects embraced Islam.[4] The popular view about Aurangzeb is well summed up in the following observations of Sir Thomas Arnold :

Local Traditions.

"Official pressure is said never to have been more persistently brought to bear upon the Hindus than in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the eastern districts of the Punjab there are many cases in which the ancestor of the Musalman branch of the village community is said to have changed his religion in the reign

4 See *Preaching of Islam.*

of this zealot in order to save the land of the village. In Gurgaon, near Delhi, there is a Hindu family of Banyas who still bear the title of Shaykh (which is commonly adopted by converted Hindus), because one of the members of the family, whose line is now extinct, became a convert in order to save the family property from confiscation. Many Rajput landowners, in the Cawnpore district, were compelled to embrace Islam for the same reason. In other cases, the ancestor is said to have been carried as a prisoner or hostage to Delhi, and there forcibly circumcised and converted. It should be noted that the only authority for these forced conversions is family or local tradition and no mention of such is made in the historical accounts of Aurangzeb's reign. It is established, without doubt, that forced conversions have been made by Mohammedan rulers, and it seems probable that Aurangzeb's well known zeal on behalf of his faith has caused many families of Northern India (the history of whose conversion has been forgotten) to attribute their change of faith to this, the most easily assignable, cause." [5]

Local and family traditions are more often than not a very unsafe guide. Hyder Ali and Tipu are said to have forcibly converted many Hindu families, but on careful investigation it was found that the alleged conversions had taken place long before their kingdoms were formed. [6]

Rewards to converts.

It cannot be denied that the expectation of liberal rewards caused some Hindus to renounce their faith. Akbar claimed to be a free thinker, but when he founded a new religion, both Hindu and Muslim converts to his faith were always generously treated. Even before he had started *Din-i-Ilahi*, he had asked Raja

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5 *Preaching of Islam*, p. 260.

6 Bombay Gazeteer XXII, p. 322 ; XXIII, p. 282.

Man Singh to become a Musalman.[7] In Shahjahan's time thousands of Hindus became Musalmans of their own free will. Parsotam Singh, grandson of Raja Raj Singh Kachhwaha, became a Muslim, and was named Saadatmand by the Emperor who granted him a robe of honour and a good amount of cash.[8] We find that "when Shahjahan was returning to Lahore from Kashmir, the Raja of Juggaur was honoured with an audience, and, *with his four thousand followers became a Muslim.*"[9]

Conversions in Shahjahan's time.

We have narrated in a previous chapter the degrading conditions of the Jats during the Hindu period. The depressed classes as a whole were not accorded humane treatment. The inference, therefore, is not unjustified that when Muslims settled down in India, a desire for equality and for emergence out of the caste system must have caused many a Hindu to renounce his faith. Manucci's observation arrests our attention when he says "many Hindus become Mahomedans, spurred by ambition or interest, and such are constantly to be met with."[10]

Muslim missionaries.

The influence of Muslim saints and missionaries, however, who were mainly responsible for swelling the Muslim population in India has not been adequately appreciated. Their faith-inspiring deeds and their preachings were surer methods of evangelisation than the forcible conversions made by a few bigots.

It is true that the power and resources of the Government were applied "in aiding the mission propaganda of the dominant minority,"[11] but such a state of things was unavoidable in the past; the dominant power always

7 M. U. II, 117.

8 Ibid. II, 172.

9 *Tazkira Salatin-i-Chaghta*, folio 10.

10 Manucci, IV, 439.

11 Sarkar, III, 314.

encouraged the propagation of State religion. The Buddhist monarchs in India, ruling over a Hindu majority, spent money, drawn from the entire population, in propaganda work.

Asoka's discouragement of Hinduism.

"It is certain," writes Vincent Smith, "that Asoka, by his comprehensive and well planned measures of evangelisation, succeeded in transforming the doctrine of a local Indian sect into one of the great religions of the world.........His prohibition of bloody sacrifices, the preference which *he openly avowed for Buddhism*, and his active propaganda, undoubtedly brought his favourite doctrine to the front."[12] An eminent Hindu scholar holds the view that the great monarch (Asoka) actively discouraged Hinduism.[13] The British Government in India maintains the Church of England from the Indian revenues. The instances quoted above cannot provide material for an elaborate thesis on the misdeeds of Buddhist and British rule ; yet the Government of Aurangzeb has been judged and condemned for acts which were but natural consequences of a system prevailing from the dawn of history.

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12 *Early History of India*, 176, 177.

13 *Causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire*, by Mahamahopadhya H. P. Sastri in the J. A. S. B. May, 1910, 259 ff.

CHAPTER VIII.

HINDUS IN SERVICE.

The allegation that Aurangzeb attempted to exclude the Hindus from public offices is based on a *firman* sent to Governors in 1671 to the effect that the Hindus should not be employed as *Peshkars* (clerks) and *Diwans* (accountants). The order was, however, soon cancelled, and it was decided that half the *peshkars* should be Hindus and the other half Muslims.[1] The dismissal of Hindu clerks has been attributed to bigotry without considering the view that there might have been reasons other than communal for the drastic order. It is not realised that partly owing to the defective system of the realisation of pay and cash allowance, and partly owing to corruption and extremely harassing tactics of the clerks of the Paymaster's Department, practically all of whom were Hindus, the latter were very unpopular with the soldiery. A graphic picture of the 'tyranny' of Hindu clerks is given by Shihabuddin Talish, which, I think, is sufficiently illuminative to explain Aurangzeb's action. After describing the remission of illegal exactions and unjust taxes by the Emperor, the author writes, "None of the Delhi sovereigns put down these wicked and illegal practices, but connived at them ...But when, by the grace of God, Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he sent orders to the Governors of the Provinces and the clerks of the administration not to do such things in future. He thus gave relief to the inhabitants of villages and travellers by land and sea from these harassments and illegal demands. The learned know that no other king of the past showed such graciousness, made such strong exertions, and remitted to the people such a large sum which equalled the total revenue of Turan...I strongly hope that, just as the peasants and merchants have been released from

1 K. K. II, 249, 252.

oppression and innovations (in taxation), so some one would fully and freely report to the Emperor the distress among the soldiery and the fact of their being harassed and crushed by the oppression of the thievish clerks, and thereby release the soldiers from the tyranny of these godless men."

High handedness of Hindu clerks.

"*The army is treated by the Hindu clerks and drowsy writers as more degraded than a fire-worshipping slave and more unclean than the dog of a Jew.* Whenever that forked-tongued cobra, their pen, brings its head out of the hole of the ink-pot, it does not write on the account book of their dark hearts any letter except to pounce upon and snatch away the subsistence of the soldiers. Indeed, when their tongue begins to move in the hole of their mouth, it does not spit out anything except curtailing the stipends of the soldiery." [2]

Why Hindus were dismissed.

In finding out reasons for the dismissal of clerks, we should not, therefore, discount the probability "that someone fully and freely reported to the Emperor the distress among the soldiery" and that Aurangzeb's action was actuated by their complaints.

Restrictions against Pathans.

In the administration of a country, discriminating measures based not on bigotry, but actuated by exigencies of the time are sometimes adopted. "In the whole of Hindustan," writes Manucci, "from Kabul to the confines of Bengal, there may be one hundred fortresses. To these the King sends faithful Governors. Generally they are men in his service, being Princes whose fidelity has been already tested. They are Rajputs, Sayyids and Moghals. But Pathans are never allowed to hold any of these fortresses, for fear they may plot some treason, as they did to King Humayun." [3] We also find that the

2 *Studies in Mughal India*, 162, 163.

3 Manucci, II, 446.

Pathans were not allowed to rise beyond the rank of four thousand.' Aurangzeb was the first Emperor to grant the rank of 'five thousand' to Dilair Khan as a reward for his services against Sivaji.[4] All these arrangements were dictated by State necessity and it would be rash to presume any wild fanaticism in these matters.

Mansab.

Before computing the number of Hindu nobles in Aurangzeb's reign, it is appropriate to point out that according to the Persian system introduced by Akbar in India, the *Mansabdars* were a body of people who were the real rulers of the country. The word *mansab* stood for official rank which had several gradations. According to the *Ain* (Blockman's, I, p. 237), the number of *mansabs* was 66. But the author of *Akbar, the Great Mogul* (page 363) says that "he (*i. e.* Akbar) classified his officers in thirty-three grades, ranging from *mansabdars* of 10 to *mansabdars* of 10,000." "*Mansabdars* ranging from 500 to 2,500 were *Umara*, or Nobles, and the highest classes were Great Nobles, *Amir-i-Azam*," (p. 365, Ibid.) The rank or *mansab*, say of 500, did not imply that the officer holding this rank was entitled to a salary of Rs. 500. It did not mean a command over 500 horse either. There were three grades of pay attached to every rank and a noble with a *mansab* of 500 received a monthly allowance of Rs. 2,500, Rs. 2,300, and Rs. 2,100 respectively, according to the grade that he occupied. The highest grade which a noble could attain was that of seven thousand.

Each grade carried a defin te rate of pay, out of which the *mansabdar* had to pay the cost of his quota of horses, elephants, and beasts of burden. A commander of 500, for instance had to keep 30 horses, 12 elephants, and 27 beasts

4 K. K, II, 256.

of burden.[4] A *mansabdar* of 10 had to keep only 4 horses, and he used to draw Rs. 100, Rs. 82-8, and Rs. 75, according to the grade he occupied. Originally the *mansabs* fixed by Akbar indicated the number of men which each officer was required to bring in. But later on the number of men never agreed with the number indicated by the rank. Sometime *suwar* rank was granted " in addition to the personal (*zat*) class rank, that is to say an officer was allowed to add and draw extra pay for a supplementary body of *suwars* or horsemen." The grading within each class depended on the *suwar* addition. From 5,000 downwards, an officer was First Class (or grade), if his rank in *zat* and *suwar* were equal; second Class, if his *suwar* was half his *zat* rank; third Class, if the *suwar* were less than half the *zat*, or there were no *suwar* at all." (Ibid.)

The appointment and dismissal of the *mansabdars* depended on the will of the Emperor, and 'no incident of the dignity was heritable.' Akbar paid the salaries of his *mansabdars* punctually, but in subsequent reigns, arrears were allowed to accumulate.

That the Hindus were freely employed by Aurangzeb and were given honourable rank at the Mughal court is illustrated by the following chart prepared from a book written by a Hindu.[5]

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4 See *Ain-i Akbari*, Blockman's, I, 236-248; Irvine, pp. 3-11-45; *Akbar the Great Mugul*, 362-365.

5 *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* by Kewal Ram. I cannot say that the numbers given in the chart are *absolutely* correct. I counted the names many a time and each time I found some difference. The book contains more than three hundred pages and the counting of names involved great labour.

KEWAL RAM'S LIST OF HINDU NOBLES WITH TITLE OF RAJA OR RAI.

	Akbar.	Jahangir	Shah-jahan.	Aurang-zeb.
Rank of 7000 ...	1	...	...	2
,, 6000 ...	...	1	1	2
,, 5000 ...	5	9	3	3
,, 4000 ...	4	4	9	3
,, 3500 ...	...	1	...	4
,, 3000 ...	2	2	10	5
,, 2500 ...	...	1	3	1
,, 2000 ...	7	10	6	6
,, 1500 ...	...	5	11	8
,, 1000 ...	6	3	15	2
,, 900 ...	...	...	2	1
,, 800 ...	...	2	6	...
,, 700 ...	1	...	4	...
,, 600 ...	...	1	1	1
,, 500 ...	3	1	3	1
Rajas having Mansab below 500 ...	17	14	3	14
Rai	6	12	3	8
TOTAL ...	52	66	80	61

LIST OF HINDU NOBLES WITHOUT TITLE OF RAJA OR RAI.

		Akbar.	Jahangir.	Shah-jahan.	Aurang-zeb.
6000	...	...	..	...	2
5000	...	...	...	6	2
4000	...	...	...	1	2
3500	...	1	...	..	...
3000	...	1	3	14	8
2500	...	...	2	2	4
2000	...	1	3	16	10
1500	...	...	...	20	19
1000	...	2	1	18	13
900	...	...	1	...	...
800	...	...	1	14	...
700	...	3	...	11	3
600	...	...	...	10	1
500	...	4	4	41	1
Those having *mansabs* below 500	...	...	13	22	54
		12	28	175	119
TOTAL	...	64	94	255	180

In the above list the names of *mansabdars* have been recorded in the reign in which the first rank was awarded. But if the same officer received an increase in *mansab* in the reign of the succeeding emperor, he is counted in that reign also. For instance, if one held the rank of 'one thousand' under Akbar, and that of 'three thousand' under Jahangir, his name has been registered in the column of 'one thousand' under Akbar and in that of 'three thousand' under Jahangir. But if a noble started with 'one thousand' in the time of Akbar and reached the rank of five thousand in the same reign, his name appears in the list of 'five thousand' only.

The numerical strength of Hindu and Muslim nobles during the reigns of Akbar and Shahjahan is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Padshahnama* respectively. We find that in Akbar's time, among 247 *Mansabdars* from 'five thousand' to 'five hundred' there were 32 Hindus,[6] while under Shahjahan out of 563 nobles, there were 110 Hindus.[7] The above figures relate to the period when the *Ain* and the *Padshahnama* were compiled. There were a few additions in the lists of nobles afterwards. According to the *Ain* (Sir Sayyid's edition), among 161 *Mansabdars* from 'four hundred' to 'two hundred,' there were 136 Musalmans and 25 Hindus, while Blochman calculates that out of 163 *Mansabdars*, there were 138 Musalmans and 25 Hindus.[8] The author of the *Umara-i-Hinud* has given a list of nobles of the reigns of Akbar and Shahjahan which differs from that given by Blochman.

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6 See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian text, edited by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, pp. 180-186. According to Blochman the total number of *Mansabdars* was 252.

7 *Padshahnama* 1,293. According to Blochman, in the 20th year of Shahjahan's reign, the number of *Mansabdars* was 580. See his article in the Calcutta Review, April 1871, 'Chapter from Mohammadan History.'

8 Ibid. The number of *Mansabdars* from 5000 to 200 according to Blochman's *Ain*, p. 239, is 412, while the *Ain*, Sir Sayyid's edition gives 408 as the total strength.

The following is the list of nobles as given in *Umara-i-Hinud.*[9] For the sake of comparison, figures from *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* are given below in brackets.

		7000	6000	5000	4000	3500	3000	2500	2000	1500	1000 to 500	Total.
Akbar	Hindus	1	...	4	4	...	1	...	7	...	20	=37
	T.U.(Hindus)	(1)	...	(5)	(4)	(1)	(3)	...	(8)	...	(19)	=(41)
	Muslims	...	...	27	7	2	17	7	23	5	126	=214
											Total ...	251
Shahjahan.	Hindus	2	...	11	8	2	19	3	17	21	72	=155
	T.U.(Hindus)	...	(1)	(9)	(10)	...	(24)	(5)	(22)	(31)	(125)	=(227)
	Muslims	6	5	14	18	...	31	10	40	37	306	=467
											Total ...	=622
	T. U (Muslims)	(6)	(8)	(24)	(20)	(2)	(30)	(24)	(49)	(62)	(212)	=(437)
											Total according to T. U.	=(664)

9 *Umara i-Hinud* by Said Ahmad Marahri, p. 42, published by Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu. According to the author, in Akbar's reign, out of 165 *Mansabdars*, of from 400 to 200, there were 139 Muslims and 26 Hindus. The total strength was 416.

As previously related, according to the *Padshahnama*, out of 563 nobles in Shahjahan's reign, 110 were Hindus and 453 were Muslims. The discrepancy between the above figures and those given in the *Umara-i-Hinud* and *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* is quite wide. If the names given by Kewal Ram are correct, an important fact emerges from the figures; that is, the number of Hindu nobles was more than half that of Muslim, 227 and 437 respectively. But I think Kewal Ram's list is not free from doubt. The official figures accord more with *Umara-i-Hinud* than with those of Kewal Ram.

According to the *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, in the reign of Aurangzeb, there were 104 Hindus and 435 Muslims, while under Shahjahan there were 437 Muslim nobles.

Rank.	Aurangzeb.		Shahjahan Muslims.
	Hindus.	Muslims.	
7000	2 ...	13 ...	6
6000	4 ...	12 ...	8
5000	5 ...	31 ...	24
4000	5 ...	17 ...	20
3500	4 ...	4 ...	2
3000	13 ...	56 ...	30
2500	5 ...	21 ...	24
2000	16 ...	52 ...	49
1500	27 ...	73 ...	62
1000	15 ...	106 ...	123
900	1 ...	15 ...	5
800	...	10 ...	22
700	3 ...	4 ...	21
600	2 ...	7 ...	3
500	2 ...	14 ...	38
	104	435	=437

We have previously indicated that, according to official authority, in Shahjahan's reign there were altogether 563 nobles, out of which 110 were Hindus and 453 were Muslims. It is clear from Kewal Ram's list that in Aurangzeb's reign the number of Muslim nobles of higher grade had somewhat decreased.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahangir's reign, but the Dutch traveller DeLaet in his work on India records that there were 439 *mansabdars*. DeLaet, however, has not mentioned how many of the *Amirs* were Hindus. [10] The author of *Umara-i-Hinud* has given a chart showing the number of Hindu *Mansabdars* from 7000 to 1000 during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb, respectively but the sources on which the figures are based have not been indicated. [11] In the following list, for the sake of comparison, Kewal Ram's figures are given in brackets.

List of Hindu *Mansabdars*.

		7000	6000	5000	4000	3500	2000	2500	2000	1500	1000	Total
Jahangir	...	1	...	8	7	2	5	2	9	11	1	46
T-U	...	...	(1)	(9)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(3)	(13)	(5)	(4)	(45)
Shahjahan	...	2	...	11	8	2	19	3	17	21	29	112
Aurangzeb	...	3	2	9	4	2	18	7	10	6	6	67
T-U	...	(2)	(4)	(5)	(5)	(4)	(13)	(5)	(16)	(27)	(15)	(96)

10 *Empire of the Great Mogal* by DeLaet, p. 117.

11 *Umara-i-Hinud*, p. 41.

According to DeLaet, in Jahangir's reign the total number of nobles from 5000 to 1000 was 301. As the figures of the *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* and *Umara-i-Hinud* almost agree as to the number of Hindu nobles, namely 45 and 46 respectively, we can safely infer that in Jahangir's reign there were 255 Muslims in the higher grade. According to Kewal Ram, in Jahangir's reign there were 10 Hindus from 1000 to 500, while the total number of *Mansabdars* in the above grades, according to DeLaet, was 138. Therefore, in Jahangir's reign there were 383 Musalmans and 56 or 55 Hindu nobles.

The number of Hindu and Muslim nobles from 7000 to 500, as given by different authorities, is indicated in the following chart:—

		Ain.	Umara-i-Hinud.	Tazkirat-ul-Umara.	Padshahnama.	DeLaet.
Hindus	Akbar ...	32	37	41		
Hindus	Jahangir ...	...	46	55		
Hindus	Shahjahan ...	...	(From 7000 to 1000 only) 155	227	110	
Hindus	Aurangzeb ...	...	67 (From 7000 to 1000 only)	104		
Muslims.	Akbar ...	215	214			
Muslims.	Jahangir ...	...	...	...	...	383
Muslims.	Shahjahan ...	...	467	437	453	
Muslims.	Aurangzeb ...	...		435		

The numerical strength of *Mansabdars* in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb is as follows:—

Rank.	Akbar (Ain-i-Akbari).	Jahangir (DeLaet).	Shahjahan (Padshahnama).	Aurangzeb (Tazkirat-ul-Umara).
5000	30	8	20	36
4500	2	9		
4000	9	25	20	22
3500	2	30	...	8
3000	17	36	44	69
2500	8	42	11	26
2000	27	45	51	68
1500	7	51	52	100
1250	1			
1000	30	55	97	121
900	37	...	23	16
800	2	...	40	10
700	25	58	61	7
600	4	...	30	9
500	46	80	114	16
Total...	247	439	563	508

The policy of non discrimination between Hindus and Musalmans in the matter of employment was rigidly followed by Aurangzeb, as is evident from his own *firman*. "In an interesting collection of Aurangzeb's orders and despatches as yet unpublished," writes Sir Thomas Arnold, "we find him laying down what may be termed the supreme law of toleration for the ruler of people of another faith. An attempt had been made to induce the Emperor to deprive of their posts two non-Muslims, each of whom held the office

of a pay-master, on the ground that they were infidel Parsis, and that their place would be more fittingly filled by some tried Muslim servant of the Crown; moreover, it was written in the Qoran (IX-1) "O Believers, take not my foe and your foe for friends." The Emperor replied: "*Religion has no concern with secular business, and in matters of this kind bigotry should find no place.*" He appeals too to the authority of the sacred text, which says: "To you your religion, and to me my religion"—(CIX. 6), and points out that if the verse his petitioner had quoted were to be taken as an established rule of conduct, "*then we ought to have destroyed all the Rajas and their subjects; Government posts ought to be bestowed according to ability and from no other consideration.*" [8]

That Aurangzeb was as anxious to reward the Hindu officers for their meritorious services as the Musalmans, is illustrated by a letter written by him to Bedar Bakht in which he says:

"I am glad to hear that Pahar Singh, the rebel, was sent to the wilderness of destruction by Tilok Chand. Praise to you that your officers are so ready to serve the King. I am sending you a string of pearls worth Rs. 50,000. As Tilok Chand has given proof of his courage and commandership, I have granted him a robe of honour and the rank of 'five hundred' and the title of *Rai Rayan*. It is proper that you should also favour him with an increase of *Mansab*, a robe of honour and confirm him in the governorship of Malwa, so that one's right may not be ignored, and others may find encouragement in royal service. [9]

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8 *Preaching of Islam* P. 214. For Parsis we should read Persians. The order is fully quoted in *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, pp. 97-100.

9 *Letters of Aurangzeb*, No. 384. I. O. Library. Pahar Singh rebelled near Ujjain in 1686 He was killed with an arrow by Tilok Chand.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RAJPUTS.

Aurangzeb and the Rajputs. His attitude misrepresented.

Aurangzeb has been held responsible for unnecessarily provoking and permanently alienating the Rajputs. The valiant race, which had been the right arm of Akbar and had fought the battles of Jahangir and Shahjahan, became, it is said, the implacable enemy of Aurangzeb. Their country was ravaged, their homes were pillaged and their temples were violated : all this for the sake of bigotry and narrow mindedness. Of all the Muslim monarchs who sat on the throne of Delhi, Aurangzeb's name has been subjected to the most violent execration ; his failings and weaknesses have been magnified beyond measure. The discrimination in historical treatment cannot be better illustrated than by an examination of the causes, that brought about a state of war between the Rajputs and Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb respectively.

Though the ruling caste of the Rajputs was driven out of the Gangetic valley in the twelfth century, the early Muslim kings had made little impression on the country held by the Rajputs. But the defeat of Rana Sanga of Mewar by Babar in 1527 created a new situation.

Akbar and Chittor.

By the time of Akbar all the Rajput chiefs, with one notable exception, had made their submission. The Rana of Chittor was the only one to hold out. The provocation that afforded Akbar the motive for invading Chittor deserves our attention, as Aurangzeb attacked the Rana in later years in somewhat similar circumstances. The *casus belli*, to rely on Tod, was the sanctuary given to Baz Bahadur of Malwa and to an insubordinate chief of Narwar.[1] "Akbar being determined

1 Tod, Vol. 1-272 ; *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 81.

to become undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court.' No monarch could feel himself secure in the sovereignty of Upper India, until he had obtained possession of Chittor and Ranthambhor, the two principal fortresses in the domains of the free Rajput chiefs."[2]

Akbar's cruelty at Chittor.

Chittor fell in February, 1568. Exasperated by the obstinate resistance offered to his arms, Akbar treated the garrison with merciless severity and ordered a general massacre, which resulted in the death of 30,000 men. Speaking of the carnage and destruction of Chittor, Tod feelingly remarks, "When the Carthaginian gained the battle of Cannae, he measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans, who fell in that memorable field. Akbar estimated his by the quantity of cordons (*zunnar*) of distinction taken from the necks of the Rajputs, and seventy four *mans* and a half are the recorded amount. The rock of their strength was despoiled the temples, the palaces dilapidated, and, to complete her (Chittor) humiliation and his triumph, Akbar bereft her of all the symbols of regality; the *nakkaras* whose reverberation proclaimed for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes; the candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother,' who had girt Bappa Rawal with the sword with which he conquered Chittor, and, in mockery of her misery her portals to adorn his projected capital Akbarabad."[3]

2 *Akbar the great Mogul, 82.*

3 Tod, I. 276-277. The weight of the 'Brahmanical cords' given by Tod is a flight of imagination. The significance of the figures 74½ is explained by Vincent Smith in his book on Akbar, page 91, note 2.

Jahangir's attack on Mewar.

When Jahangir came to the throne, he resolved to signalise his reign by the subjugation of Chittor. Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shahjahan, was put in charge of the campaign. He invaded Mewar with a large army. Fields and orchards were burnt; villages and towns were plundered, and temples were demolished. The open country was reduced to utter waste.[1] The Rana submitted in the end, and his son was sent to Jahangir's Court where he was received with the honour and distinction due to him.

Rajput Chiefs fight against Aurangzeb.

During the reign of Shahjahan, all the Rajput chiefs maintained friendly relations with the Emperor and attained high positions in the Government. At the time when Shahjahan fell ill and confusion broke out throughout the Empire, Raja Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh were given commands in the army to fight against the sons of Shahjahan. Raja Jaswant Singh, of Jodhpur, found himself pitted against Aurangzeb, who, in the battle of Dharmat, severely defeated him. After Aurangzeb had cleared his way to the throne, Raja Jai Singh submitted to Aurangzeb and was confirmed in the rank that he held under Shahjahan. Through him pardon was granted to Jaswant who was asked to join the army that was being formed against Prince Shuja, who was then advancing to vindicate his claims to the Mughal throne. Jaswant secretly put himself in communication with Shuja, and with his Rajput followers, deserted Aurangzeb, looted the imperial camp, and proceeded towards Agra. After the defeat of Shuja, Aurangzeb determined to give Jaswant a lesson for his treachery, and resolved to send an army against him. Many Rajput chiefs joined him. Rai Singh Rathor, a relation of Jaswant Singh, was granted

Raja Jaswant Singh's treachery.

1 *History of Jahangir*, 240.

the title of Raja, and honouring him with the grant of a robe of honour, elephants, swords and one lac of rupees and elevating him to the rank of 'four thousand,' Aurangzeb sent him with an army and asked him to rule over Jodhpur after the extirpation of the rebel chief.[5] But Raja Jai Singh stepped in and interceded in Jaswant Singh's behalf. Any one with a spark of diplomacy in him would have followed the same course as did Aurangzeb. He forgave the Raja of Jodhpur and gave him high posts. The generous and charitable treatment of his enemy by Aurangzeb, however, has been shown in sordid colours by his critics. His motive has been questioned, and unmerited abuse has been heaped on him. Tod writes, "The crafty Aurangzeb, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jaswant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Guzerat if he would withdraw his support from Dara and remain neutral in the contest."[6]

Aurangzeb's generosity.

Jaswant Singh, however, was sent to the Deccan where he began to intrigue with Sivaji, whose attack on Shaista Khan at Poona was plotted by him.[7] He was removed from the Deccan, but re-appointed after a time. Again he began to indulge in treacherous designs, and Aurangzeb saw no other remedy than to employ him in a situation where he would be less dangerous. He was, therefore, sent to Jamrud to keep watch over the turbulent Afghans. There he died in December, 1678, and left no heir to succeed him.

Jaswant's intrigues.

Throughout his career in Aurangzeb's reign Jaswant had proved himself a disloyal person and unworthy, not

5 *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, p. 338.

6 Tod. Vol. 2, p. 44.

7 Orme's *Fragments*, p. 11.

only of trust, but even of the name of a Rajput noted for his honesty of conduct and rectitude of purpose. But his activities have been extolled and panegyrised beyond measure. Speaking of Jaswant's leanings, Tod remarks, "Although the Rathors had a preference amongst the sons of Shahjahan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."[8] Such is shown to be Jaswant's ruling passion; yet such was his degeneracy that he would profit by Mughal beneficence and vie with other Rajput chiefs in serving the Emperor, the head of the hated race.

Tod as apologist.

Summing up Jaswant's character, Tod writes "Jaswant neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. His overture to Sivaji; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force; his inciting Muazzam, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jaswant's thirst for vengeance.........Accordingly, if Jaswant's character had been drawn by a biographer of the Court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him, but on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jaswant, a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the Raja, therefore,

Jaswant's character.

8 Tod, Vol. II, p. 46.

only opposed fraud to hypocrisy and treachery to superior strength. Could Jaswant, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge, for the image of the Rathor crossed all his visions of aggrandisement."[9]

Tod's injustice to Aurangzeb.

We commend Tod for his noble efforts in immortalizing Rajput valour and tradition, but we cannot help remarking that he seems to be so much obsessed with Aurangzeb's 'craftiness and hypocrisy' that every virtue of the Mughal emperor becomes a vice, while the ignoble vices of the Rajput chief become refulgent with glory.

The question of succession has been treated by some writers as a 'family affair,' and the assertion is made that, after the death of Jaswant, Aurangzeb felt himself strong enough to impose a strict Muhammadan rule all over India.[10]

The aim of the Mughals.

It was the aim of the Mughals not to have any independent state in India. Akbar's interference with the Rana of Chittor and the Muslim States in the Deccan was merely with the object of reducing them to a state of vassalage. As soon as the Hindu Rajas had made their submission and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor, they were confirmed in their title. For all practical purposes they were independent. They managed their state as they liked, free from any interference. But there was one right which every Mughal emperor reserved to himsef. On the death of a Raja, the territory was, in theory, supposed to devolve, not on his heir, but on the Emperor. In practice the Raj was always given to the rightful heir; but, not until it had been duly

9 Tod, Vol. II 47.

10 Lane-poole, p. 138.

confirmed, was the succession deemed rightful. A *sanad* was presented to the new ruler, and *tika* marked on his forehead by the Emperor's delegate, symbolising the ascent to the throne. To quote an instance, "when Rana Umara made terms with Jahangir, he stipulated, as a salve for his dignity and that of his successors, exemption from all personal attendance; and confirmed the extent of homage to his successors receiving, on each lapse of the crown, the *firman* or Imperial decree in token of subordination, which, more strongly to mark their dependent condition, the Rana was to accept without the walls of his capital."[11]

It is evident from the above that the question of succession was not a 'family affair,' as suggested by Lane-poole.

The Rajputs : a constant threat to the Empire.

Before we describe the events that led to a general rising in Rajputana, consequent upon the death of Jaswant Singh, it is appropriate to point out that, whenever an opportunity offered itself, the Rajputs tried to create trouble, as instanced by their activities during the Satnami rebellion. The Satnamis were a Hindu sect found all over Upper India, but their chief centre was Narnol, near Delhi. According to Ishwardas, they were a filthy people, but Khafi Khan gives them a good character. Manucci calls them *Monddias* because they shave off all the hair from their body, not even sparing their eyebrows.[12]

The Satnamis.

When Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan Abdal (between Rawalpindi and Peshawar after suppressing the Afghan rebellion, a Satnami cultivator had a dispute with a Mughal soldier

11 *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, 289.

12 Manucci, II, 167.

near Narnol, and the latter was beaten to death.[13] When men were sent to arrest the Satnamis, they were up in arms, and the quarrel developed into an open rebellion against the Government. The Satnamis plundered Narnol, demolished mosques and routed the *faujdar* of the district.

"When the Emperor arrived at the capital," writes Khafi Khan, "and the news of the disturbance reached him, he sent armies against the Satnamis; but every force sent against them was routed......Great Rajas and experienced nobles with large armies were appointed against them who came forward to meet the imperial force, and came as near as 16 or 17 *kos* from the capital. But the imperial army did not take the initiative in launching an attack and had no courage to face them. The zamindars of the neighbourhood, and some Rajputs, finding the time very opportune, rebelled and withheld the revenue. The disturbance daily grew worse, so much so that the Emperor ordered the royal tent to be fixed outside (Delhi)...........At last through the

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13 K. K. II. 252. Prof. Sarkar puts the rebellion of the Satnamis in May, 1672, but, according to Khafi Khan, the rebellion took place in 1086 or 1087 Hijra=1676 or 1677 A. D. Khafi Khan explicitly says that Aurangzeb sent an army against the Satnamis after his return to Delhi from Hasan Abdal (II. 253), and according to Prof. Sarkar Aurangzeb reached Delhi in March, 1676, (III. 276). Elphinstone gives the year 1087 Hijra (1676) as the date of the rebellion, (p. 557). Elliot agrees with Elphinstone. (E and D. Vol. VII. 289). See Appendix C, *ante*.

Manucci's story about the origin of the rebellion is absurd. His dates are unreliable. He reached Goa in the spring of 1667, and stayed there for 15 months. If he left Goa in September, 1668, he ought to have reached Delhi by the end of the year. But he says, when he arrived at Delhi, 'the cannon were still in position' after the suppression of the Satnamis. (II. 168). If Manucci reached Delhi about the middle of 1672 and remained there for one year (see II. 176), he should have been at Lahore in 1673. But he says that when he reached Lahore, Muhammad Amin Khan was the Governor of Lahore And the latter was Governor between June 1667 and February 1668. (See M. A. 63).

efforts of Raja Bishun Singh and others, thousands of them were killed and the disturbance was suppressed. Owing to the rebellion of the wretched infidels, the zamindars of the neighbourhood had also risen in revolt. This event was the cause of disturbance and chaos in the province of Ajmere and the vicinity of Agra, and, as the punishment of the rebellious Rajputs was also necessary, and the royal tents were sent outside (Delhi), and His Majesty was anxious to go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Hazrat Moin-ud din Chishti, the camp was ordered to move towards Ajmere." [14]

Aurangzeb's treatment of the Rajputs justified.

To appraise Aurangzeb's treatment of the Rajputs correctly, the rising of the Rajputs during and after the Satnami rebellion should be kept in view. Much of Aurangzeb's severity in dealing with the Rajputs was influenced by the fact that they had attempted to stab the Mughals in the back when the latter were engaged elsewhere.

The disturbance in Rajputana continued intermittently, after the Satnami rising, till the death of Jaswant,[15] and it is quite likely that the Rajputs were secretly prompted by the Maharaja, and the Rana of Udaipur.[16]

Death of Jaswant and after.

When Jaswant died at Jamrud in December, 1678, he left no issue. The Rajput chiefs, along with the widows of the late Maharaja, left Jamrud, and when they wanted to cross the ferry at Attock, they were stopped by Mughal

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14 K. K. II. 254—255. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* is silent about Aurangzeb's march to Ajmere in 1087 Hijra, but there is a reference to Aurangzeb's encampment at Ajmere in *Mirat*, page 292.

15 Two months before Jaswant's death, Darab Khan was sent to punish the Rajputs of Khandela. (M.A. 171).

16 Describing the resentment of Aurangzeb against the Rana, the author of *Vir Vinode*,(pp. 454-455) says under the date 1086 A.H. =1675 A. D. that the help given to the Rathors of Jodhpur by the Rana was one of the causes of estrangement.

officers from proceeding farther, as they were not equipped with a passport. The Rajputs created a disturbance, killed an officer and forced their way across the river.[17] When the party reached Lahore, the Ranis gave birth to two posthumous sons, Ajit and Dalthamman, on 18th Muharram 1090 A. H. = 19th February 1679 A. D.[18] According to Tod, the Rajputs left Jamrud after the birth of the two sons. (*Rajasthan*, II. 47). This view is supported by Khafi Khan. (II. 259).

Jodhpur occupied.

Immediately after the death of Jaswant, Aurangzeb appointed Mughal officers as *faujdar*, *qiladar* and *kotwal* of Jodhpur in January 1679,[19] and himself set out for Ajmere on 20th January (N. S.). Aurangzeb anticipated opposition from the Rana of Chittor; but the latter, overawed by the array of forces, sent a submissive letter to the Emperor and expressed his anxiety to present his son, Kunwar Jai Singh, to Court. Thereupon Muhammad Naim, *Bakhshi* of Prince Kam Bakhsh, was sent to the Maharana with the Emperor's *firman* dated 8th March, 1679.[20] Two *kos* from Delhi, Kunwar Jai Singh had the audience of the Emperor who presented him with jewels and gave a robe of honour and Rs. 20,000 cash for the Maharana.[21] Aurangzeb reached Delhi on or about 11th April, 1679. (N. S.). Aurangzeb's project of peaceful occupation of Jodhpur had up till now succeeded, but with the appearance of the two posthumous sons of Jaswant, a new and disturbing situation was created.

17 K. K. II. 259.

18 *Vir Vinode*, 828. The news of the birth of the two sons reached Court a week after. M. A. 172.

19 M. A. 172. According to *Vir Vinode*, (p. 828) Tahir Khan and other officers were sent to Jodhpur on 11th Muharram 1090. A. H. = 23rd February 1679.

20 *Vir Vinode*, 457; M. A. 174.

21 *Vir Vinode*, 459.

Aurangzeb's attitude *vis-a-vis* Jodhpur is generally viewed from a dynastic point of view without considering that there were both personal and imperial reasons for keeping the State under strict control. It was through Marwar that the highways of commerce passed between the capital and the flourishing cities on the western coast. The road to Surat and Ahmedabad lay through the boundaries of the Rajput State. It was impossible for any emperor ruling at Delhi to tolerate an independent and antagonistic State on the flanks of the trade-route to and from the capital. From the time of Akbar onwards every Mughal Sovereign was conscious of the importance of the highway between Delhi and Ahmedabad, and it was these economic causes that were mainly responsible for keeping Mewar and Marwar in subordination.

Personal and imperial considerations.

We have referred previously to the refractory attitude of the Rajputs during and after the Satnami rebellion. After the death of Jaswant, it was natural for Aurangzeb to try to have a fuller control over Marwar than was possible in the life-time of the former.

"We know not," writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "if Jaswant's sins of twenty years ago still rankled in Aurangzeb's bosom, as Khafi Khan asserts, and he now sought to take a safe, if belated, vengeance. But it is clear that the success of his plan of the forcible conversion (?) of the Hindus required that Jaswant's State should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular province of the Empire."[22]

Aurangzeb's attitude towards those who fought against him in the war of succession was thoroughly statesmanlike. Many Rajas bowed their heads and remained true to him ever afterwards. But Jaswant not only once, but throughout

Aurangzeb's statesmanship after his succession.

22 Sarkar, III. 368.

his career, proved himself a traitor. It was he who on the eve of battle at Khajua deserted Aurangzeb and rode off to his home with his Rajput contingent. It was Jaswant who secretly helped Sivaji in his daring attack on Shaista Khan,[23] and tried to incite Prince Muazzam to rebellion. It was Jaswant who did his best to tamper with the loyalty of his brother-in-law, Rao Bhao Singh, Raja of Boondi, who was serving with him in the Mughal Army. When he failed in his attempt, he called his wife, the sister of the Raja of Boondi, to the Deccan. But the Raja remained true to the Emperor. According to Bernier, there was a secret understanding between Jaswant and Sivaji who was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Shaista Khan as well as the attack of Surat."[24]

Monarchs, as much as those not garbed in the purple, have their likes and dislikes, and are swayed by varied passions; and however intensely attached a man might be to his religion, it is less than fair to ascribe every action of his to bigotry. The head of Jodhpur State had given enough trouble to Aurangzeb, and the latter cannot be blamed if he was anxious to reduce Jodhpur to a "quiescent dependency." Jodhpur had lost all claim on Aurangzeb's forbearance.

Doubtful legitimacy of Jaswant's sons.

After the birth of posthumous sons, the Rathors submitted a petition to Aurangzeb praying for the grant of the Raj to the heirs of Jaswant. The Emperor refused to accede to their request, as he doubted the legitimacy of the children. He did not, however, summarily reject their claim, but ordered the children to be brought to Delhi, and promised to give them *Raj* and *mansab* after their reaching the age of

23 *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, p. 25.

24 Bernier (2nd edition), 188.

discretion.[25] In the meantime, before the arrival of the Rathors at Delhi, in July, 1679, the Raj of Jodhpur was conferred on Indar Singh, the grand-nephew of Jaswant on payment of 36 lacs of Rupees.[26] The above view is supported by many writers.

Aurangzeb orders the children to Delhi.

"The Raja had no issue," writes Bindraban. "After two or three months, the servants of the Raja submitted a petition to the Emperor that the two wives of the Raja were pregnant. A *firman* was then sent that the two posthumous sons should be brought to Delhi to whom *mansab* would be awarded after their reaching the age of majority. After their arrival at the capital, an order was issued that the *Diwans* should appropriate *parganah* Sofat and Chenaran out of the *mahals* of the Raja for their maintenance, and taking possession of Jodhpur and other *mahals*, appoint some officer as *faujdar*. As a more liberal grant—*especially to the children, whose legitimacy as the sons of the Raja had not been confirmed*—was not possible, the Rajputs managed to escape from the capital with the children." [27]

Ishwar Das' account of what happened.

Ishwar Das says, "After the death of the Maharaja, all the Rajputs of Marwar were bent on creating trouble. For the administration of Marwar and the settlement of the district, His Majesty, therefore, elevated Indar Singh to the throne of Marwar, so that the Rajputs may not revolt. In the meantime, Khanjahan Bahadur Kokaltash had delayed the annexation of Jodhpur and failed to chastise Dhiruj and Harji. The Khan, taking the *Khwaja sara* of the Maharaja, Udai Singh Champawat, Makund Singh and Jagannath—the officers of the deceased Maharaja—came

25 M. A. 177.

26 *Ibid*, 175.

27 *Lub-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind*.

to Court by forced marches, and without permit took them to the *Ghusul Khana* (room for private audience), and presented each of them to His Majesty; he made a request for their pardon and the grant of Jodhpur to the children of the Maharaja. But the request was not accepted, and feeling much resentment, His Majesty dismissed the Khan from his *mansab*, and all the property (of the Raja) was confiscated......................Later on, Durgadas was ordered to hand over the children of the Raja to the servants of the palace."[28]

The account in *Basatin.*

The following account is given in *Basatin:* "In the 21st year of Alamgir's reign, and in the year 1089 Hijra, Raja Jaswant Singh, leader of the Rathors and the ruler of Jodhpur, died without leaving any heir. Two or three months after his death, the wives and servants of the Raja petitioned His Majesty that as two wives of the deceased Raja had been pregnant and given birth to two sons, royal orders may be issued for their elevation to the Rajship, and for drawing *tika* marks (on their foreheads). It was ordered that they should bring the two sons with their mothers to Court, so that they may be honoured with the robe of Rajship."

The Rajputs escape with the children.

"After the arrival of the children—*whose legitimacy as sons of the Raja was not proved*—orders were issued to the *Diwans*, that till their majority, two *mahals* out of the *jagirs* of the Raja be reserved for their maintenance, and the rest of the state be appropriated as *khalsa*, and one of the nobles should be appointed as *faujdar* of the *mahals*. The Rajputs

28 *Futuhat i-Alamgiri, f* 75. Prof. Sarkar says that Kokaltash was dismissed for recommending the grant of Jodhpur to Jaswant's sons. But cannot we infer from the text that his dismissal was due to his failure in punishing the rebels, and for breach of Court etiquette?

who wanted nothing less than the entire state of Jodhpur for the sons of the Raja, were disappointed, and escaping with the sons and wives of the Raja, went to Jodhpur and began to give trouble. His Majesty then went to Ajmere, and a *firman* was sent to the Rana (of Udaipur) not to give shelter to the rebels in his own territory. Leaving Khan-jahan Bahadur behind to punish the Rathors, His Majesty returned to the capital. As it was, later on, reported to the Emperor that the Rana was secretly helping the Rathors, and had openly given asylum to the sons of Jaswant, His Majesty marched to Ajmere a second time." [29]

A summary of the evidence in the quotations.

In summarising the extensive quotation, we find that there was an element of suspicion in the birth of posthumous sons, and that Aurangzeb doubted the legitimacy of the children. Therefore, he summoned them to Court to have their claims substantiated. On the failure of their suit to prove their legitimacy, Aurangzeb did not dismiss their claim entirely but granted them *jagirs* out of the *mahals* of the deceased Raja. Before the arrival of the sons of Jaswant at Delhi, the Raj of Jodhpur had been conferred on the grand-nephew of the deceased Raja; and in view of the suspicious circumstances surrounding the birth of the children, Aurangzeb refused to reconsider his decision.

A charge refuted.

"At the end of June," writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "the Maharaja's family reached Delhi, and the rights of Ajit were again urged before Aurangzeb; but he only ordered that the child should be brought up in his harem, with a promise to give him a rank in the Mughal peerage and investiture as Raja when he would come of age. One contemporary historian says that the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim. Such a proposal would be

29 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 516.

quite in keeping with Aurangzeb's past policy, as he had lately given the zamindaris of Jogigarh, Deogarh, and Mau to those among rival claimants who had agreed to accept Islam. The loyal Rathors were seized with consternation at Aurangzeb's proposal......The clansmen vowed to die to a man to save their chieftains' heir."[30]

The first part of the above statement is based on the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* from which it is clear that there was no question of the children being brought up in the harem. " After the death of the Raja, his officers, Raghunath Das, Durgadas and others petitioned the Emperor for the grant of *mansab* and *raj* to the sons of the Raja who were born at Lahore. The royal order was issued that the two sons be brought to Court[31] with the promise that they will be honoured with *raj* and *mansab* after attaining the age of discretion. The Rajputs, coming to Delhi pressed their suit with much stress and exaggeration."

Aurangzeb's order.

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30 *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 373-374. The story about the proposed conversion of Ajit to Islam is a pure myth. As stated elsewhere, Aurangzeb had rejected the claim of Jaswant's sons on their failing to prove their legitimacy. Could Aurangzeb re-claim them as Jaswant's true sons by converting them to Islam? Besides, Ajit was a mere infant, and his conversion, far from arresting the progress of disturbance, would have highly intensified the agitation; and Ajit as a Muslim was bound to be instantly repudiated.

As regards Aurangzeb's policy about rival claimants, we find that Buland Bakht, the Raja of Deogarh became a Muslim in 1686, *after* the conclusion of the campaign in Rajputana. The reference to Aurangzeb's "past policy" is, therefore, wide of the mark

31 M—A.176-177.

حکم اقدس اعلی صادر شد کہ ہر دو پسر را بدرگاہ سپہر بارگاہ بیارند

This does not mean that the two sons were ordered to be brought up in harem. In fact, when Aurangzeb was informed of the intended flight of the Rajputs, his orders were that the son and the widows should be brought to the fortress of Nurgarh, and not inside the harem.

We have already referred to the doubts which Aurangzeb had about the legitimacy of the children. Therefore, he ordered them to be brought to Delhi so that their claim might be enquired into. Aurangzeb's order must have been communicated to the Rajputs when they were still at Lahore. Apparently it caused no 'consternation' among them, because they decided to come to Delhi. If the Rajputs knew that the sons of Jaswant were to be brought up in the harem, they should have marched off to their homes instead of coming to Delhi But it seems as if the fly knowingly and with eyes open walked straigh into the spider's chamber

Sequence of events.

As previously related, immediately after the birth of the two sons, and when the party was still at Lahore, the Rathors petitioned the Emperor for the recognition of their claim which Aurangzeb refused to countenance. The Rajputs remained at Lahore for about three months ; and when they found that the *Raj* of Jodhpur had been conferred on Indar Singh, they decided to come to Delhi and press their suit. But Aurangzeb became much enraged at the breach of etiquette on the part of Khanjahan Bahadur—who was Rathors' self-appointed advocate—and refused to alter his decision. What followed afterwards will be told in the language of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.*

How the Rajputs escaped.

" The Rajputs, coming to Delhi, pressed their suit with much stress and exaggeration. In the meantime, one of the sons died. As it was reported to the Emperor that the Rajputs, on account of mischievousness inherent in them, were meditating flight to Jodhpur along with the second son and his two mothers, with a view to creating trouble and raising the standard of revolt, His Majesty ordered on 16th Jumada II (15th July, 1679) that the infant and the

two widows of the Maharaja, who were staying in the house of Roop Singh Rathor, should be brought to the fortress of Nurgarh, and that Faulad Khan, the Kotwal, and others, dissuading them from their intentions, should see that the Rajputs do not execute their purpose into action ; if, however, they determine to fight, due punishment should be meted out to them. Those appointed to the duty, acting according to the royal order, attempted to achieve their end by advice and persuasion. The infidels, however, put up a fight and some men of the imperial army were killed. Finding themselves pressed by the army, the Rajputs killed the two widows of the Raja, and leaving the infant behind at the house of a milk-vendor, precipitately fled to their homes. Faulad Khan, being informed of the whereabout of the second son, brought him before His Majesty. The maid-servants of the Raja who were made prisoners identified the infant as the son of the Raja.''[32]

There can be no doubt that when the Rajputs came to Delhi and failed in their mission, they were meditating flight to Rajputana where they were sure to stir up trouble. Aurangzeb, having been informed of their intentions, was naturally anxious to frustrate their project, and it was then that *both* the son and the two widows of the Maharaja were ordered to be taken not inside the precincts of the harem, but to the fortress of Nurgarh.

Khafi Khan's version.

Khafi Khan's version is somewhat different from that of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri.* Says Khafi Khan : " After the death of the Raja, his officers, taking his two infant sons, Ajit Singh and Dalthamman and the Ranis with them without waiting for royal orders and without taking a passport from the Subadar, started towards Delhi. When they reached the ferry at Attock, and the *Mir Bahr* stopped them from crossing,

32 M. A. 177-178.

as they had no passport, they determined to fight, and, killing the *Mir Bahr* and injuring others, crossed the river. When they came near the capital, owing to the grievance that His Majesty had against Jaswant, and owing to this fresh impertinence of the Rajputs, His Majesty ordered that they should encamp *near* the city towards Barah Palla, and asked the Kotwal to post his men with a few *mansabdars* and some batteries round their camps, and keep them under guard."

The Rajput nobles escape with the Ranis.

"After some days, a number of Rajputs asked leave to proceed home which was granted. In the meantime, the Rajputs having secured two children of the same age as the sons of the Raja dressed some of the female servants like Ranis, and kept them in all secrecy in their camp. Then putting the real Ranis in male attire, and taking two trusted servants and some life-sacrificing Rajputs with them, they rushed out and rode straight for their homes *at night time.* They also left one or two trustworthy officers with an army near the tent of the counterfeit sons, so that, in the event of the early leakage of the news and consequent pursuit, they (*i. e.*, the army and the officers) should prove their devotion by obstructing the way for one or two hours"

The fight in the Rajput camp.

"After two or three hours, when contradictory news reached the Emperor, he appointed trustworthy men to enquire into the matter. As it was later reported that the Ranis were present with the sons, it was ordered that the entire family should be brought inside the fort. The Rajputs, with the concurrence of female-servants, who fought like brave soldiers, made a resistance and proved their life-sacrificing devotion and loyalty. Many of them were killed, and some took to flight. Though the escape of the Ranis was not proved, yet some interested persons insisted on the escape of the sons. At last, it was decided to arrest the sons of the Raja, and

the imperial army went out for forty miles, but, finding no trace of the Rajputs, returned, and the two children (*i. e.*, the counterfeit ones) were sent inside the Palace."[33]

Rajputs escape at night.

We find from the above statement that after the arrival of the Rajputs at Delhi, a number of them departed to their homes, and that when Aurangzeb, instead of conferring the Raj on the sons of Jaswant, put guards round their camp, they managed to escape at *night* time. Khafi Khan's statement is supported by Manucci who says, "When they (*i. e.*, the Rajputs) arrived at Delhi, they heard that, instead of rewarding them, Aurangzeb meant to cut off their heads. On finding this out, they fled from the city *before day-break*, and posted two hundred and fifty horsemen on the bridge with twelve arches (*i. e*, Barahpalla) which stands opposite Humayun's Mausoleum. Their orders were to hinder any one from passing and seizing the little Rajahs. In the morning Aurangzeb knew of the Rajah's flight, and at once sent a force to pursue and seize them. But the two hundred and fifty Rajputs defended the passage most valorously, and prevented any one getting past them. Men were killed on both sides, but no one was able to pass. Then night fell, and the Rajputs who had barred the way rejoined the others who were in charge of the Rajahs."[34]

Summary of events.

On the basis of different version, we are in a position to reconstruct the events leading to the escape of the Rajputs from Delhi. As soon as Aurangzeb was informed that Jaswant had died without leaving any issue, he decided to occupy Jodhpur. He wanted to invest someone with the powers of a Raja who would be more true and firm in his loyalty than was the deceased Raja. The birth of the

33 K. K. II 259-260.

34 Manucci, II, 283.

posthumous sons, however, not only upset his calculations, but filled him with grave doubts as to their legitimacy. When the Rajputs pressed the claims of the sons, Aurangzeb asked them to bring the Ranis and the children to Delhi so that the question of their legitimacy might be enquired into. Though the sons were born at Lahore on 19th February, 1679—and inspite of Aurangzeb's orders to send them to Court,—the Rajputs did not arrive at Delhi before July. There is no mention in contemporary records that after the birth of Ajit and before his escape from Delhi, the Rana of Udaipur ever pressed the claim of Jaswant's sons, though his heir had audience of Aurangzeb about the end of March.

Rani's stay at Lahore.

The silence of the Rana may have been a factor in determining the legitimacy of the two children. The prolonged stay of the Ranis at Lahore, however, complicated the situation, and Aurangzeb decided to invest Indar Singh with the powers of a Raja. In the meantime, some *parganahs* out of the *mahals* of the Raja were allotted to the Ranis for the maintenance of the children, and Aurangzeb promised to grant them (*i.e.*, the sons) Raj and *mansab* after their reaching the age of discretion. It seems that the elevation of Indar Singh grealty upset the Rajputs who then decided to proceed to Delhi and make one more effort for the restoration of the Raj to Jaswant's sons. When they came to Delhi, they brought Khanjahan Bahadur as their intermediary whose breach of etiquette in forcing an interview greatly ex-

Rajputs exasperate Aurangzeb.

asperated Aurangzeb who was already enraged at the conduct of the Rajputs in having killed the Mughal officer at Attock. On account of the resentment that was natural, Aurangzeb put then under guard. The Rajputs then dressed the Ranis in male attire, and taking Ajit with a number of brave and trusted servants, rode off towards Jodhpur before

day-break, when it was still night. Two maid-servants dressed as Ranis, with two children (the counterfeit ones), were left behind to put the Mughals off the track. When conflicting news reached Aurangzeb, he ordered that the Ranis should be sent to the fortress of Nurgarh. The Rajputs put up a brave fight not so much to avoid arrest, but to delay the pursuit of the party which, a few hours before, had escaped with Ajit. The fight took place near Humayun's mausoleum and not in "the streets of Delhi."[35]

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35 Compare Sarkar, Vol. III, 376-377 :—"When Aurangzeb demanded the surrender of the infant Ajit Singh and placed a guard round his house to prevent escape, Durgadas took counsel with his brother Sardars and quickly formed a plan for saving his infant master. They pleaded with Aurangzeb for delay.........promising to present him at court when he had grown up. The Emperor's wrath was imflamed by this resistance and on 15th July he sent a strong force under the Provost of Delhi city and the Captain of the imperial guards to seize the Ranis and Ajit and lodge them in the prison fortress of Nurgarh. The imperialists shrank from provoking the "death-loving Rajputs" to extreme courses, and at first tried persuasion, but in vain. The Rathor plan was to ensure the escape of Ajit by offering desperate resistance and sacrificing their own lives freely in a series of rear-guard actions. While a smart musketry fire was being exchanged between the two sides, Raghunath, a Bhatti noble of Jodhpur, with a hundred devoted troopers made a sortie from one side of the mansion. Lance in hand, with faces grim as Death, the Rathor heroes rushed upon the foe ; they had taken leave of life by making their last oblations to the gods and swallowing a double dose of their sweetest earthly solace, opium. At their wild charge the imperialists quailed and, seizing this momentary confusion, Durgadas slipped out with Ajit and the Ranis in male attire, and rode direct for Marwar. For an hour and a half Raghunath dyed the streets of Delhi with blood."

The learned author remarks that "the imperialists *shrank* from provoking the death-loving Rajputs to extreme courses." Was it not the express order of Aurangzeb that persuasion should first be applied ? The order is noted in M-A and quoted in a preceding page.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has based the account of the escape of Ajit on Ishwardas, "because he was in close touch with the Rathors." But is there not the possibility that the Rathors themselves very much exaggerated their exploit ? In fact, the learned author himself says, (Vol. II, 305) "Ishwardas sometimes records the affairs of Northern India inaccurately, because only garbled popular tales reached him in his far-off province (Guzerat)."

Sir Jadunath says that "Khafi Khan supports Ishwardas"—(III-378, foot-note). But the two versions differ widely. In view of Khafi Khan's and Manucci's statements that the Rathors escaped before day-break, we are bound to reject Ishwardas' account.

Sir Jadunath says (III, 378, foot-note) that "Tod, as usual, indulges in rhapsodies." But are not Sir Jadunath's rhapsodies based on Tod ? Here is a specimen from the latter, "They (*i. e.*, the Rajputs) made oblations to gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds............Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama, the Rathors rushed upon the foe."

Aurangzeb and the Rana of Chittor.

For a while, we shall leave the Rathors pursuing their course towards their homes, and relate an incident in which Aurangzeb and the Rana of Chittor were involved.

During the reign of Shahjahan, Chittor enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. But three years before the Emperor's fateful illness, Rana Jagat Singh died and left Raj Singh to succeed him. This youthful chief was not of a peaceful nature. He looted a town on the Ajmere frontier, but Shahjahan ignored the incident. When Aurangzeb came to power, Raj Singh, it seems, by his rashness frustrated Aurangzeb's matrimonial plan. Raja Man Singh of Kishungarh and Rupnagar, son of Raja Rup Singh, had a sister named Charumati. When Aurangzeb demanded her hand, the Raja agreed to send her to the royal palace, but the Princess herself refused to go to Delhi. In their embarrassment, the elders of Rupnagar hit upon a plan which would save them from Aurangzeb's resentment. It was decided that the Princess herself should write a letter to Rana Raj Singh asking him to hasten to Rupnagar and forcibly take her away to Udaipur. In the picturesque language of Tod, "the family priest (her preceptor) deemed his office honoured by being the messenger of her wishes, and the billet he conveyed is incorporated in the memorial of this reign."[36] With a chosen band, the Rana passed the foot of the Aravali, and suddenly appearing before Rupnagar bore off the prize to Udaipur. This happened in 1660.[37]

Aurangzeb reprimands the Rana.

Rawat Hari Singh of Divalya, who was waiting for an opportunity, hastened to Aurangzeb and told him all about the incident. The Emperor then took away Ghyaspur and

36 *Rajasthan*, I, 297.

37 *Vir Vinode*, 437-438. There is no mention of the above incident in any contemporary history.

Bisawar from the Rana and conferred the same on Hari Singh. A *firman* was also sent to Raj Singh reprimanding him for making an alliance without the royal permission. Raj Singh's reply is quoted in the *Vir Vinode* (p. 440) in which he makes excuses for his conduct and prays for the return of the two *parganahs.* The Rana's petition was brought to Aurangzeb by Hari Singh Chauhan who verbally pleaded his master's cause, but without success. Hari Singh was however, dismissed with a robe of honour and a *firman* for the Rana on 31st December, 1661.

Raja Man Singh, on his part, put all the blame on the Rana, and in proof of his steadfast loyalty, he gave his younger sister in marriage to Prince Muazzam on 26th January, 1662.[38]

The personal factor.

Apart from the diverse causes that brought about a state of war in Rajputana, the personal element involved in the struggle must be emphasised, as personal likes and dislikes, though cleverly kept in the background, very much influenced the march of events. Both in the case of Jaswant and that of Rana Raj Singh, perhaps there was the stifled voice of personal pique crying for vengeance.

Aurangzeb goes to Rajputana; Two versions of his march.

When Durgadas and his band of plucky Rathors reached their homes with Ajit, the Rana of Udaipur immediately espoused their cause and determined to stand by Jaswant's infant son. According to Khafi Khan, Aurangzeb took the field against the Rajputs *after*

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38 *Vir Vinode,* 443. Raja Rup Singh of Kishungarh took the side of Dara Shikoh and was killed at Samugarh. The wife of Prince Muazzam, afterwards known as Bahadur Shah, was the daughter of Rup Singh. The marriage took place in 1071H. (K. K. II. 128). This Rathor Princess was the mother of Daulat-Afza and Muhammad Azim. (M. A. 49, 93).

the escape of Ajit from Delhi. Says Khafi Khan, "The Emperor sent a severe *firman* to the Rana to accept the Jizyah and turn Jaswant's sons out from Jodhpur. After reaching Ajmere, orders were issued for laying waste the Rajput territory. Unable to resist the imperial army, the Rana sent trustworthy agents with suitable presents and a petition expressing his loyalty, the acceptance of Jizyah, the allocation of two or three *parganahs* in payment of the poll-tax, and a promise not to help the sons of Jaswant. His Majesty, therefore, appointing Khanjahan Bahadur to the administration of Jodhpur, returned to the capital after an absence of seven months and twenty days. As it was reported later on that the Rana was acting contrary to the pact and his promises, and as Khanjahan was not properly administering the district, His Majesty moved to Ajmere a second time at the end of the year. (Shaban, 1090 H.= September 1679 A. D.)."[39]

The campaign in Rajputana.

We have already related the sequence of events given in the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, according to which Aurangzeb moved to Ajmere for the first time a month after Jaswant's death and *before* the birth of the posthumous sons. Khafi Khan, however, is supported by the author of *Basatin*[40] as well as by Manucci, who says, "Annoyed at the flight of the Rajahs, Aurangzeb took the field for a campaign against the famous Rani, wife of Jaswant Singh........... The princess was obliged to cede to Aurangzeb a province and the town of Mairtha. Thereupon the King withdrew. ....After Aurangzeb had made peace with the Rani, he retired to Agra to enjoy the palaces and gardens made by Shahajahan. But he did not repose for long."[41]

39 K. K. II. 262.

40 *Basatin*, 516. See p. 216, *ante*.

41 Manucci, II, 234.

Mewar and Marwar allied against Aurangzeb.

Tod speaks of only one campaign in Rajputana, and from his narrative it appears that Aurangzeb took the field against the Rathors after Indar Singh was driven out of Jodhpur.[42]

Though Khafi Khan's statement is amply supported by other authorities, we are doubtful of the terms of the alleged treaty with the Rana. But it cannot be doubted that when Aurangzeb marched to Ajmere immediately after Jaswant's death to overawe all opposition, inspite of the absence of any formal treaty, the Rana must have given promise of his neutrality before the Emperor retired to Delhi. At the time of Ajit's escape, Jodhpur was in possession of Indar Singh, Jaswant's grand nephew, and any apprehension, that the Rana might have entertained about Jodhpur being annexed to the Empire must have been set at rest. The Rathors, as soon as they reached their homes, drove Indar Singh to his castle of Nagore and occupied Jodhpur.[43] The Rajputs were now in open rebellion and the Rana became their sworn ally.

The War in Rajputana.

Ever since the Satnami rebellion the Rajputs were giving incessant trouble. Aurangzeb now determined to let them feel the weight of his might. Death and Destruction were let loose on the dominion of the Rajputs, and the combatants

42 Tod, II, 49. Both Khafi Khan and *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* agree that Aurangzeb moved to Ajmere for the first time in Zul-Hijjah 1089A. H = January, 1679. But according to M. A. Aurangzeb returned to Delhi after about two months, while K. K. is definite that the Emperor returned after seven months and twenty days *i. e.*, in the end of Rajab 1090 H. = August 1680. Khafi Khan further says that Aurangzeb started for his second campaign in Shaban (September)—a date agreeing with that of M. A. If Aurangzeb was away for seven months, then Durga Das and Ajit came to Delhi, before 9th of January, *i. e.*, in less than a month after Jaswant's death, which seems unlikely. But Khafi Khan's statement is supported by three authorities.

43 Tod. II. 49, M. A. 149, records that Aurangzeb himself recalled Indar Singh owing to the latter's incompetence.

found themselves in the mad dance of a grim and desperate struggle. The war was conducted with relentless severity. Every inch of soil in Rajputana can tell the tale of courage and carnage. Temples and towns were destroyed, and no trace of huts and houses, tuft or a tree was allowed to be left. The Rana himself laid waste Udaipur, and with his family retired into an inaccessible mountainous region.[44] The Rajputs adopted guerrilla tactics. Secure in their position on the crests of the Aravali, and knowing well the topography of intricate gorges and unassailable defiles, they would suddenly make their appearance, either blocking the advance or cutting off the retreat of the Mughals. Kumar Bhim Singh, the son of the Rana, made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Gujarat. He captured Idar,[45] raided some towns, and destroyed 300 mosques.[46]

Mosques destroyed.

Dayal Sah, the finance minister, headed a flying force which ravaged Malwa. "For once," writes Tod, "they avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrant, even on the religion of their enemies: the kazees were bound and shaved, and the Korans thrown into wells."[47]

While the struggle was still undecided, the Rajputs devised a scheme which, but for Aurangzeb's coolness, had almost succeeded. The Rajputs secretly approached Prince Muazzam and promised to put him on the throne. But the Prince was given stern advice by his mother Nawab Bai, and they left his camp.

Akbar's rebellion.

Then they turned their attentions towards Prince Akbar who succumbed to their blandishments. He openly rebelled and at one time

44 K. K. II. 263; *Vir Vinode*, 465.

45 Tod, I. 302; Mirat, 294; Ishwardas, 80-a.

46 *Vir Vinode*, 471.

47 Tod, I. 302; Ishwardas, 80 a.

Aurangzeb's position was critical. He had only 10,000 men with him, while Akbar boasted of at least 40,000 Rajputs. Everyone except the Emperor, was in terror. Akbar had arrived within three miles of the royal camp at night, and the battle that was to decide the fate of Hindustan was fixed for the morning. Aurangzeb was not unnerved by the formidable array of the Rajputs. He arranged his army for battle and waited for the break of day. But during the night there was a striking change in Akbar's camp. Shihab-ud-din Khan, the father of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk, was leading a reconnoitering party near Akbar's camp, when his brother Mujahid Khan, who was unwillingly with Akbar's army, approached the Prince and asked permission to visit his brother and bring him over to his side. As soon as Mujahid Khan left Akbar's camp, he came to Aurangzeb, who highly praised the two brothers.

The Rajputs desert Prince Akbar.

The arrival of Mujahid Khan caused confusion in Akbar's camp, [48] and the defection of Tahawwur Khan demoralised the Rajputs. The Khan was both the prime minister and commander-in-chief of Akbar. Tahawwur was a son-in law of Enayet Khan, a high officer in the imperial army. It was on account of Enayet's importunity that Tahawwur left his new master. [49] As soon as Tahawwur's defection was known, the Rajputs were struck with dismay they collected their belongings, looted Akbar's property and rushed off to Marwar. With the break of dawn Akbar's host of 50,000 had dwindled to a few hundred men. The new Emperor

48 K. K. II. 268.

49 K. K. II. 269. Khafi Khan does not countenance the theory that Aurangzeb allowed a letter to fall into the hands of the Rajputs, in which the Emperor had highly commended Akbar for his pretended revolt and had asked his son to attack them (*i. e*, the Rajputs) in the rear. The fact is that the Rajputs, suspecting the defection of the two officers, scented treachery and hurriedly left the field.

mounted his steed and fled for his life. Aurangzeb retained the Empire of Hindustan without firing a shot.

Negotiations for peace.

The war in Rajputana continued from August, 1679 till March, 1681, when pourparlers for peace were opened. Though Tod (I-304) and Manucci (II-251) speak of Dilair Khan as mediator, the latter is not mentioned by the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* or *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* as having taken any part in the war. But, according to the *Vir Vinode*, Dilair Khan played an important role in the peace conversations, and his letters are fully quoted in the above-named book.

Maharana Jai Singh, who had succeeded his father Rana Raj Singh in October, 1680, sent Rao Kaisri Singh of Parsauli and other officers to Aurangzeb to initiate the peace-talk. After their arrival at Court, the following *firman* was sent by the Emperor to the Rana. "The petition brought by Rao Kaisri Singh reached the august Court from which his (*i. e.*, Rana's) sincere intentions and steadfast loyalty became known to us. If that loyal chief will obey the august commands with frank faithfulness then our intentions for forgiving his faults and for the grant of a *firman* bearing the impress of our hand, and conferring *mansab* and *tika* will be formed; and his other petitions will also receive due consideration. When that loyal chief will pay his respects to the Prince (Azam) as was done (by his predecessor) at the time of Shahjahan's princehood, then we will extend the same kindness to that chief as was accorded to Rana Amar Singh (by Jahangir). This *firman* is being forwarded to that loyal chief for his satisfaction in accordance with his petition. Dated 14th Safar, 1092 H = 5th March, 1681."[50]

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50 *Vir Vinode*, 651–652.

The *kharita* sent to the Maharana.

When it was settled between the parties that the Rana and Prince Azam should meet on the level ground of Morchanga and Pashund on the northern bank of the lake Rajsamudra, Dilair Khan sent the following *kharita* to the Maharana.

" After salutations and expressions of good-will and friendship, let it be known that Chandar Sen Jhala, Sanwal Das Rathor, Rawat Kaisri Singh, and Kaisri Singh Chauhan came to the victorious Court. Everything possible was submitted (before the Emperor) for the good and in the interest of that noble chief. The above-named persons have written (to Prince Azam) about the agreed conditions (of peace) and the date of arrival of that friend, and a copy of the letter has been sent to you which will give you all the details. According to the agreement, a *nishan*[51] bearing the signature (of Prince Azam) and Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur's letter will be sent to you later on. There are only four days left for the meeting. On the receipt of this letter which has been written in a hurry, let that friend start at once without a moment's delay, and, as agreed, after appearing before the august presence, should depart with all good wishes.........Let the days of happiness last for ever."[52]

The Rana and Prince Azam meet.

When the Rana received Dilair Khan's letter, he wrote to the latter, that, on account of some apprehensions, his Rajput followers insist on some guarantee for his personal safety. Maharaja Shyam Singh of Bikanir then advised the Khan to send his two sons to the Rana as hostages to which Dilair readily agreed. The sons were taken to the

51 *Nishan* is a term for a letter addressed by a Prince of royal blood to anyone other than the king or his relations.

52 *Vir Vinode*, 654.

Rana by Shyam Singh himself.[53] The Rana met Prince Azam on the 14th June, 1681, and peace was restored between the Rajputs and the Mughals.

It is a strange commentary on the political conditions of the day that the Mughal princes incessantly intrigued to advance their own particular interest. They always tried to ally themselves with powerful chiefs, Hindu or Muslim, so that, in the struggle for succession, they might find helpful support. The Rajas and nobles freely made secret pacts not only with one but with several claimants to the throne. We find that Prince Azam who had been deputed by Aurangzeb to settle terms of peace with the Rana concluded a secret agreement with the latter which runs as follows :—

Azam's secret agreement with the Rana.

"When Prince Alijah Azam Shah should ascend the throne, as is the prayer of the well-wishers, then the Rana hopes that the following favours will be granted to him :—

(1) The *parganahs* that were allotted to him in lieu of the official grade of five thousand, (but were subsequently taken back) should be returned to him. Details (of the *parganahs*)—Phulya, Mandalgarh, Bidnaur, Ghyaspur, Purdha, Dongarpur.

(2) As soon as the shadow of God should come to the throne, in addition to the official grade of five thousand, an increment of one thousand *zat* and one thousand *suwar*, *do aspah, seh aspah* should at once be made.

53 *Vir Vinode's* account is confirmed by Tod, I. 308. But the author of the *Vir Vinode* (p. 658) says that this Shyam Singh was not of Bikanir, but a Sisodiya, and the son of Gharib Das.

(3) After capitulation of Sansani (a fortress of the Jats near Muthra)—in trying to reduce the fort—an increment of one thousand *zat* should be made.

(4) Out of three *karors* of *dams* granted as *inam*, two *karors* have been allotted to us in the Deccan. In lieu of the remainder, the *parganah* of Sirohi should be granted to us.

(5) If loyal service be performed by this servant, then he hopes that, in addition to the *mansab* mentioned above, the following *parganahs* will be given to him:—Tonk, Khairabad and ten others.

(6) This servant hopes that the *mansab* of seven thousand *zat* and seven *thousand suwar* will be conferred on him.

(7) A *firman* bearing the impress of the hand as well as seal and signature should be granted to the effect that if *jizyah* is not abolished from the whole of India, it should not be collected from our territory, and that the contingent of one thousand horse serving in the Deccan should be discontinued.

(8) If uncles, brothers and high officers should leave my territory on account of displeasure, they should find no encouragement from you.

(9) The *zamindars* of Divalya, Banswara, Dongarpur and Sirohi should receive no *mansab*, if they go to your Court.

(10) The names of *mansabdars* and *zamindars* who are obedient to you should be given to me. I will make others submit to you, but if this action might involve damage to any territory, I should be excused." (*Vir Vinode*, 659-660).

It was on account of the secret agreement that Prince Azam tried to persuade Aurangzeb to forego some of the provisions of the original treaty.

What were the terms of the treaty.

There is some confusion about the terms of the treaty. Khafi Khan describes the acceptance of *jizyah* as the condition of the first treaty, and makes no mention of the final treaty or its terms. According to the *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, the Rana ceded the *parganahs* of Mandal, Pur and Bidnaur in lieu of the *jizyah*, Mewar was restored and the rank of five thousand conferred on him.[54] Manucci records that the wife of Jaswant was obliged to cede to Aurangzeb a province and the town of Mairtha. But this happened after the *first* campaign in Rajputana. About the final treaty, he says, "Peace was made; nor were there any new provisions, beyond the grant by Aurangzeb to the Rana of a province which formerly belonged to his state, but had been ceded by his ancestors to the Mogul."[55] In the *Basatin* there is no mention of the *jizyah*, but it is recorded that the Rana ceded a few *parganahs* as *peshkash* or fine, and promised to be loyal.[56]

The account in the *Vir Vinode.*

The author of the *Vir Vinode*, however, throws considerable light on the peace transactions. He gives us the Hindi excerpt of Prince Azam's *nishan*, prepared at the time of peace conversations. The document runs as follows: "Prince Azam's following *nishan* reached Maharana Jai Singh at Gaonghati: "You wrote about the three *parganahs.* Submitted the matter before the Presence through Dilair Khan and Hasan Khan; whereupon the fact of your visit received recognition. Out of three *karor dams*, forty lacs have

54 M. A., 208.
55 Manucci, II, 252.
56 *Basatin*, 519.

been remitted. The service of one thousand horsemen is discontinued. Do not construct the walls and do not allow Rathor thieves (*badshahi chor rathor waghaira*) in your territory."[57] The date of the *nishan* is twelve days after the interview, *i. e.*, 26th June 1681.

It is clear from the letter noted above that the Rana was anxious to retain the *parganahs* which he was asked to cede, but Aurangzeb gave no reply. The passage about the walls refers to the fortress of Chittor which was not allowed to be repaired. There is no mention of *jizyah* in the *nishan*; but the transfer of the *parganahs* was in payment thereof. Azam's letter gives the terms of the agreement at the time of the interview. There were, however, some modifications later on, as from the correspondence that passed between the parties it is clear that the Rana made repeated attempts for the remission of the *jizyah* and the restoration of the *parganahs*.

Aurangzeb remits part of the fine.

According to the *Vir Vinode* (p. 661), on Prince Azam's request, Aurangzeb reduced the fine by the amount of a lac of rupees, granted four *parganahs* to the Maharana, and remitted the *jizyah*. But a summary of a *firman* dated 12th Rajab is quoted which does not support the above statement. The language of the *firman* is ery obscure and it is difficult to find its real import from the following short extract. "Instead of one *karor* and twenty lacs of *dams*, we grant you the *parganahs* of Mubarakpur, Mandalgarh and Bidnaur for which you will pay one lac of rupees in the first year and two lacs in the second year." But in explaining the *firman*, the author sums up its provisions as follows: "Out of three *karors* of *dams* originally fixed as fine, 40 lacs were remitted by Prince Azam, and out of the remaining two *karors* and sixty lacs,

57 *Vir Vinode*, 656.

the Emperor retained only one *karor* and 20 lacs, and granted the above-mentioned *parganahs.* But the Emperor made no mention in his *firman* about the discontinuance of the Rajput contingent and the remission of the *jizyah*, according to Prince Azam's agreement From this it is clear that the Emperor did not agree to the two above-named conditions."

The treaty amended. The final terms.

Later on, according to the authority we have quoted, the agents of the Rana pressed Azam for the fulfilment of his promise upon which the Prince made a strong recommendation to Aurang zeb who, retaining the services of the Rajput contingent, remitted the *jizyah.* And then Azam sent the following *nishan* to the Rana: " Your petition came. We grant you the *parganah* . You will have to send one thousand horsemen. *Jizyah* is remitted. 24th Sha'aban."[58] We have, however, a *firman* of Aurangzeb, dated 7th of Rajab, 1092 Hijra, sent to Sharzah Khan, a noble of Bijapur, which goes against the *firman* dated 12th Rajab previously quoted. "The Rana," runs the *firman*, "paid his respects to Prince Azam and, accepting *jizyah* and fine promised not to give asylum to the rebels and the servants of the deceased Raja."[59] The only interpretation that can be put on the *nishan* dated 24th Sha'aban is that in consequence of Prince Azam's pressing request Aurangzeb, after the dispatch of the letter to Sharzah Khan, remitted the *jizyah.*

We, however, think that the author of the *Vir Vinode* has not drawn right conclusions from the papers and documents to which he had access. That *jizyah* was not remitted is proved by Azam's *nishan* dated 7th August 1684, sent to the Rana from the Deccan. " I have been ordered to write to you that one thousand horse belonging to that loyal chief

58 *Vir Vinode*, 662.

59 *Basatin*, 521.

always served in the Deccan. In view of the fact that some *parganahs* were taken away from him in lieu of the *jizyah*, the service of one thousand horse was discontinued. Now since the forfeited *jagirs* are given back to him; he should send the required contingent as usual." (*Vir Vinode*, 665-666). The above *nishan* directly contradicts Azam's previous letter dated 24th Sha'aban in which *jizyah* was remitted, while the Rajput contingent was retained for service in the Deccan. The author of the *Vir Vinode* explains the discrepancy by saying that it was Azam who remitted the *jizyah* and not Aurangzeb.[60]

We have seen that apart from the *jizyah*, the Rana was first asked to pay an indemnity of three *karors* of *dams*, out of which one *karor* and eighty lacs were remitted. We have no information whether the balance was paid or not. But from the terms of Aurangzeb's *firman* dated 12th Rajab, it seems that the Rana was asked to pay three lacs of rupees in two years.

We would summarise the terms of the treaty as follows:

(1) In lieu of the *jizyah* imposed on the Rana, at first three *parganahs* were taken from him. But they were given back three years later. The Rana also agreed to pay three lacs of rupees in two years as an indemnity. (2) The Rajput contingent of one thousand horsemen was retained. (3) The Rana promised not to give shelter to the rebellious Rathors. (4) The fortress of Chittor was not allowed to be repaired. (5) The *mansab* of five thousand was conferred on the Rana.

Tod's text of the treaty different.

Tod, however, gives the following text of the treaty from an original document bearing the impress of the Emperor's hand and the word *manzuri* (agreed) written on it.

60 *Vir Vinode*, 665.

"Your servants, according to your royal pleasure summons, have been sent by the Rana to represent what is written underneath. We hope you will agree to these requests, besides others which will be made by Puddum Singh.

1st.—Let Chittore, with the districts adjacent appertaining thereto when it was inhabited, be restored.

2nd.—In such temples and places of Hindu religious resort as have been converted into mosques, the past cannot be recalled, but let this practice be abolished.

3rd.—The aid hitherto afforded to the Empire by the Rana shall be continued, but let no additional commands be imposed.

4th.—The sons and dependents of the deceased Raja Jaswant Singh, so soon as enabled to perform their duties, we hope will have their country restored to them.

Respect prevents inferior demands. May the splendour of your fortune, like the sun illuminating the world, be for ever increasing and never set. The *arzi* (request) of your servants, Soor Singh (uncle of Rana Raj Singh) and Nurhur Bhut."[61]

The difference explained.

The provisions of the above treaty are distinctly at variance with Aurangzeb's *firmans* and Azam's *nishans*, and we are not disposed to rely on the former. I think the treaty mentioned by Tod was concluded not with Aurangzeb but with rebellious Akbar who gave himself all the airs of an emperor. Tod has mistakenly ascribed the treaty to Aurangzeb who could not and did not acknowledge Ajit as Jaswant's son. Both Maharana Raj Singh and his son

61 Tod, I, 304.

Maharaja Jai Singh were anxious to have definite terms of agreement from Akbar, and the agreed provisions are reflected in the clauses of the treaty given by Tod. This view finds support from Akbar's letter to the Maharana which distinctly refers to the restoration of Chittor.[62]

That the clauses of the treaty mentioned by Tod were not the final terms of agreement is proved by the fact that the author himself says at another place that "Azam concluded a treaty in which, as a salve for the imperial dignity, a nominal fine and surrender of three districts were inserted for aiding Akbar's rebellion, and a hint that the regal colour (crimson) of his tents and umbrella should be discontinued."[63]

Aurangzeb leaves for the Deccan.

Akbar, foiled in his attempt to gain the throne of Delhi with the armed strength of the Rajputs, escaped to Konkan and, finding asylum with Sambhaji, hoped to achieve his object with the help of the triple alliance of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda and Sambhaji.[64] Akbar's new move was pregnant with dangerous possibilities. Therefore, on the conclusion of peace with the Rana, Aurangzeb left northern India for the Deccan in September, 1681, never to return again.

Ajit's career.

Aurangzeb had concluded peace with Mewar but not with Marwar. It remained in a state of ceaseless conflict, and the Mughals held the country in military occupation. The Rathors might make a raid here and there, but they could not oust the Mughals from their position. Hard pressed by the invaders and reduced to dire straits, Ajit who had now grown up requested the Emperor's pardon. A *mansab* was conferred

62 *Adab*, 407*b*.
63 Tod, I, 308.
64 *Basatin*, 519.

on him and he was appointed a *faujdar* of a few *pargānahs* in Marwar in 1698. Durgadas, the chief leader of the Rathors, also made his submission, and was made a commander of 3,000 horse. (M. A. 395). He was appointed *faujdar* of Patan in Gujrat, but it was suspected that even from that distance he used to instigate the Rajputs. Aurangzeb, therefore, ordered Prince Azam, the Governor of Gujrat, either to send Durgadas to Court or to make an end of him. The latter, however, escaping to Marwar in 1701, joined Ajit and raided some Mughal outposts. In retaliation, Marwar was made desolate. Both Ajit and Durgadas again made their submission. (1704-1705). But a year after Ajit rebelled a third time, and Durgadas also ran away from the Mughal camp. Aurangzeb's death, however, in March 1707 created a widespread confusion. "When the happy news had been placed beyond doubt," writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar with unfeigned delight, "Ajit took horse for Jodhpur, expelled Jafar Quli (the deputy *faujdar* of the city), and took pessession of his father's capital. As Ajit entered Jodhpur, the Mughals fled, leaving their property behind, they were slain or made captive."[65] It should, however, be added that when Ajit came to power, he destroyed all the mosques in his dominions and stopped *azan* (call to prayer).

Ajit's revenge.

In the vehement language of Tod, "the wretched Yavanas (*i. e.*, the Muslims), now abandoned to the infuriated Rajputs smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed"

......"The chaplet of the Moola served to count the name of Rama, and a handful of gold was given to have their

65. Sarkar, V. 292.

beards removed. Nothing but the despair and flight of the *Mletcha* was heard throughout Moordhur. Jodgurh (Jodhpur) was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred Toolsi; and Ajit received the *tilak* of sovereignty."[66]

For the sake of right perspective, it is necessary to follow the career of Ajit, as apart from indicating his character, it will throw considerable light on the perplexing drama of the age which he lived in.

Ajit's recurring rebellions and surrenders.

As soon as Bahadur Shah, the new Emperor, found his throne a little secure, he sent an army against Ajit who, as usual, took refuge in his mountain fastness. When, however, hard pressed by the Mughals, he sought the Emperor's pardon. Ajit presented himself at Court, and was given a *mansab* of 3,000 horse in 1708. But when Bahadur Shah was marching to the Deccan to meet his brother Kam Bakhsh, a claimant to the throne, Ajit with Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha secretly and suddenly left the royal camp and rode off to Marwar. It seems that treachery had become the recurring malady of the house of Jodhpur, and the son must follow the footsteps of his father.

On his return from the Deccan, the Emperor was contemplating a punitive expedition againt Ajit when, owing to the disturbance of the Sikhs, the recommendation of Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan for the pardon of Ajit and Jai Singh was accepted on the condition that they should appear before the Emperor and seek his forgiveness. Ajit and Jai Singh with a numerous retinue came to Court and were brought before the Emperor with their wrists tied together with handkerchiefs. Their submission was accepted and after the grant of dresses of honour and jewelled

66. Tod, II. 62.

swords and daggers, they were allowed to depart to their homes. (June 1710).

After the death of Bahadur Shah, the Rajputs, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing at Delhi again rebelled, and in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Amirul-Umara Husain Ali Khan was sent to Jodhpur to punish Ajit. The Raja submitted and accepted the Mughal terms. As his constant rebellion was a great source of trouble, Husain Ali Khan thought of adopting other methods than recourse to war.

Ajit's daughter married to Farrukh Siyar.

Ajit was persuaded to give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor, and send his son Abhai Singh to Court. (May 1714). Ajit's daughter was the last Rajputani to enter the Mughal harem.

The feeling of implacable enmity which Jaswant nursed throughout his life against Aurangzeb, the tragic circumstances under which Ajit was brought up, the life of a fugitive that he had lived in distant hills and inaccessible mountains and the incessant wars against the Rathors were factors that should have impelled Ajit to reject with disdain the proferred hand of the "barbarian". The oppressed prince not only forgot the iniquities of the oppressor, but consented to mingle his blood with that of the persecutor! This attitude of the Rajput chief must cause surprise. But to one who does not confine his survey to a particular set of events, the alliance of the Mughal Emperor with the house of Jodhpur clearly illustrates the tendencies of the times, and indicates the relations existing between the suzerain and his vassal. The temporary estrangement between the parties did in no way lessen the personal and political advantages accruing from the matrimonial alliance. The benefits were mutual and their prospects were as good in the time of Farrukh-Siyar as during the reigns of Akbar and Shahjahan.

Apart from the great influence which the relations of the Rajputani queen commanded at Court, the grant of a viceroyalty of a province—many times as big as their own hereditary dominions—added greatly to their power. Tod might lament the 'moral degeneration' of the Rajputs, but the theory that the policy of Aurangzeb brought about their permanent alienation does not receive support from actual facts. This we will discuss in the concluding chapter of the book.

Ajit conspires against his son-in-law.

After the marriage of his daughter, Ajit was made viceroy of Gujarat, but owing to the increasing power of the two king-makers, Sayyid Abdullah and Sayyid Husain Ali, the Emperor called him to Court to counteract their influence. But when he reached Delhi, he joined the two brothers, and was instrumental in the imprisonment and murder of Farrukh Siyar, his own son-in-law. But writes Tod, "Viewing the manifold reasons for his (*i. e.*, Ajit's) hatred, we must not scrutinize with severity his actions—when leagued with the Sayyids—even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Farrukh-Siyar, to whom he owed the two-fold duty of fealty and consanguinity." (II. 77.)

After the foul and heinous crime, Ajit was openly taunted in the streets of Delhi as the murderer of his own son-in-law. His retainers used to be pursued with shouts and jeering remarks.[67]

67. Irvine writes, "If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Maharaja Ajit Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbar* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length several spoon-sellers and bazar touts having been killed by the Rathors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned." (*Later Mughals*, I. 394). "Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his (Ajit's) house, and one day cow-bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship......... The Rajah to escape these insults was in haste to quit Delhi." (Ibid. I, 408).

In the reign of Rafi-ud-dowlah, Ajit's daughter was allowed to return to Jodhpur by the Sayyid brothers much against public feeling; and it is estimated that when she returned home she took with her property worth more than a karor of rupees.

In the reign of Muhammad Shah, Ajit was appointed Viceroy of Ajmere, but following the treacherous murder of two Mughal officers, an army was sent against the Raja. Ajit again made his submission which was accepted on the condition that his son Abhay Singh should always remain at Court.

Ajit murdered by his son.

After the departure of Abhay Singh to Delhi, Ajit was murdered by his own son Bakht Singh in June, 1724. There is a divergence of opinion as to the cause of Ajit's murder. After critically examining different versions, Irvine came to the conclusion that Ajit was guilty of the most reprehensible crime. "We are told that soon after Ajit Singh had made his peace and returned to Jodhpur, he fell in love with the wife of his middle son, Bakht Singh, and was guilty of an incestuous intercourse. Overcome with shame and touched in the tenderest point of his honour, Bakht Singh sought his opportunity of revenge. One night when Ajit Singh, drunk and stupefied, was lying fast asleep, his son stabbed him to death."[68]

Ajit's worthless character.

The valour of the Rajputs, their daring and integrity, their heroism and loyalty, their manly bearing and chivalrous conduct excite our just admiration. But such foul stains disfigure the annals of Marwar that one is struck with horror when he finds one reprehensible crime followed by another equally detestable. Nothing can more serve to

68. *Later Mughals*, II, 116-117.

illustrate the character of Ajit than his treatment of Durgadas. "The heroic Durgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth, the guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, 'put not thy faith in princes.' He was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom and valour had preserved."

Such was Ajit with whom Aurangzeb had to deal.

CHAPTER X.

THE SIKHS.

Guru Nanak.

As the fifteenth century was drawing to a close, there appeared on the soil of India a man who preached universal truths and who aimed at removing discord from nations and blending their jarring elements in peaceful union. His name was Nanak. In his early years he had reflected on the meaningless conventions and mechanical rites practised by the votaries of different faiths, and determined to free men's minds from unnecessary shackles. He discarded all mythologies, and firmly believed in the oneness of the Supreme Being According to the *Dabistan*, (p 223), he appreciated Islam and respected the *avatars* and gods of the Hindus but he regarded them as created beings (*makhluq*) and not creators (*khaliq*). He carried the beads or the *tasbih* of the Muslims in his hand and wore the sacred thread *zunnar* round his neck He soon came to have a considerable following and was treated with great reverence. His saintly life had won the admiration of Babar who, it is alleged, had asked for the Guru's blessings. The preachings of Nanak attracted people from far and near and he became the founder of the sect now known as Sikhs. Nanak died in 1538 at Kartarpur in Jalandhar Duab.

After his death, he was succeeded by his follower Guru Angad who, at his death in 1552, was succeeded by Amardas, a Kshatriya of respectable family. Amardas was succeeded by Ramdas, his son-in-law, in 1574 A. D. Akbar gave 500 *bighas* to Guru Ramdas, who built a famous tank which he called Amritsar[1]. The Guru spent his life in preaching the gospel of Nanak, and was successful in gaining converts. He died in 1581. and was succeeded by his

1. *Ibrat-namah.*

son Arjun, who compiled the *Adi Granth*, the first sacred book of the Sikhs.

Guru Arjun.

As Guru Arjun had blessed the standard of Khusrau and prayed for his victory, when Jahangir came to power, he levied a fine on the Guru who was imprisoned and consequently died owing to the severity of the confinement.[2] According to Malcolm, the Guru had refused to admit the writings of a Hindu named Danichand into the *Adi Granth*; consequently the latter went to the governor of Lahore with whom he had some influence, denounced the Guru and procured Arjun's imprisonment. A Muslim writer, on the other hand, says that Danichand, having made a proposal for a matrimonial alliance between his daughter and the Guru's son, and having been rebuked by Arjun, nursed an acute hatred against the Sikh chief and succeeded in bringing about his imprisonment.[3]

Har Govind.

Arjun was succeeded by his son Har Govind who was a man of war-like spirit and kept a large number of armed followers. He was employed by Jahangir, but, appropriating the pay of his soldiers and refusing to pay up the fine imposed on his father, he was imprisoned at Gwalior where he was kept for twelve years. (*Dabistan*, 234). After Jahangir's death, he took service under Shahjahan, but soon raised a petty revolt.[4] Har Govind was routed and found refuge in the hills. He died at Kiratpur in 1645. It is alleged by an authority that Danichand, the persecutor of Arjun was arrested and handed over to Har Govind by Shahjahan, and the Guru put his father's tormentor to death.[5]

2. *Dabistan*, 234.
3. *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 87.
4. Macauliffe, iv. 81-200 ; *Dabistan.*, 234.
5. *Tarikh-i-Punjab*.

Har Govind was succeeded by his grandson Har Rai who became a friend of Dara Shukoh. After the battle of Samugadh, when Dara had fled to the Punjab, Har Rai had blessed his standard, but later on realising the strength of Aurangzeb, he refrained from giving any active help. When Aurangzeb went to Lahore in pursuit of Dara, he asked Har Rai to come to Court. The Guru excused himself from personal attendance, but sent his son Ram Rai, in his place[6]. At Har Rai's death in 1661, a violent contest arose among the Sikhs for succession. The dispute was referred to Aurangzeb who allowed the Sikhs to elect their own chief. They chose Hari Kishan, another son of Har Rai. It is a significant fact, denoting Aurangzeb's impartiality and fairness, that though Ram Rai had ingratiated himself with the Emperor, the latter did not interfere in the choice of the Sikhs. According to the *District Gazetteers* of Dehradun, "Guru Har Rai died in 1661, leaving two sons, Ram Rai and Harikishan, the former about fifteen years of age and the latter about six. Both claimed the succession, and as Ram Rai was the son of a hand-maiden and not of a wife of equal rank with the mother of Hari Kishan, the latter was chosen to succeed their father. Ram Rai refused to abide by the election and disputes ran so high that it was agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Aurangzeb, who confirmed the election and sent Ram Rai away disappointed but resolved not to abandon his pretensions to the spiritual leadership of his sect." As a consequence we find, that the Emperor "sent marble stones and other materials from Delhi, and caused the erection of a building near the mountains.[7] There Ram Rai also assumed the religious headship. The place was

Aurangzeb's impartiality.

6. *Tarikh-i-Punjab.*

7. Ibid f. 191.

first known as Dehra Guru Ram Rai, but is now known as Dehra Dun.[8]

Macauliffe: a criticism.

Macauliffe gives a fantastic reason for the exclusion of Ram Rai from the leadership. 'By the Emperor's orders, a meeting of Muhammadan priests was held for the purpose of interrogating Ram Rai on the subject of the Guru's hymns. The Emperor opened the conversation, 'Ram Rai, your Guru Nanak hath written against the Moslem religion. In one place he hath said :

The ashes of the Muhammadan fall into the potter's clod ;

Vessels and bricks are fashioned from them ;

They cry out as they burn.

What say you the meaning is?" Ram Rai began to reflect that it was with great difficulty that he could please Aurangzeb. He, therefore, determined to alter the line of Guru Nanak, in order to gratify the Emperor. He said, 'Thy Majesty, Guru Nanak wrote, '*Mitti be-iman ki*' that is, the ashes of the faithless, not of the Musalmans, fall into the potter's clod." All the Muhammadan priests were pleased with the reply. The Emperor then conferred a mark of favour on Ram Rai.........Guru Har Rai was much enraged at Ram Rai's conduct and decided to exclude him from guruship.".[9]

It is hardly worthy of credit that Aurangzeb would have called a boy—as Ram Rai then was—to account for the writings of Guru Nanak, and held a meeting of Muslim

8. *Dehra* is the corruption of *Deohara* meaning temple.
Dun signifies valley.

9. Macauliffe, IV, 309. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has apparently believed the story. See *History of Aurangzeb* III. 353.

priests for questioning the youth. Had Guru Har Rai disinherited Ram Rai in his life time, there would not have ensued a fierce contest between Ram Rai and Harikishan. The *District Gazetteer* of Dehradun rightly suggests that the claims of Ram Rai did not receive acceptance as he was the son of a hand-maiden.

Tegh Bahadur.

Harikishan died at Delhi in 1664, and was succeeded by Tegh Bahadur, second son of Guru Har Govind. Tegh Bahadur, for some reason, left the Punjab and accompanied Raja Ram Singh, the son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, to Assam and joined the Mughal army. After a few years he returned to Anandpur. " From this place, " writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, " he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and a priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated. He encouraged the resistance of the Hindus of Kashmir to forcible conversion and openly defied the Emperor. Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."[10]

Unreliability of Sikh account.

The above statement is presumably based on Sikh sources, which are not very reliable. "The Sikh accounts," writes Dr. Trumpp, "are frequently contradictory and dictated by prejudice or hatred against the Muhammadans. This part of their history requires as yet a careful critical sifting, as the Sikhs themselves have no idea of historical truth."[11]

10. *History of Aurangzeb.* III. 354 355.

11. *Adi Granth*, LXXXIII, note 1.

Sweeping assertions about forced conversion are often made against Aurangzeb. In the case of the Hindus of Kashmir, the authority on which the charge is based has not been indicated. We can only affirm that there was no forcible conversion of the Hindus, and, consequently, the basis for defiance of constituted authority by Tegh Bahadur altogether vanishes. An examination of the Sikh account, however, will reveal the absurdity of their version. " It is alleged," writes Macauliffe, " that as the Hindus of Kashmir were being forcibly converted, they came to the Guru to solicit his help. He told the Kashmiris to go in a body to Delhi and make the following representation to the Emperor: " Guru Tegh Bahadur is now seated on the throne of the great Guru Nanak, who is protector of faith and religion. First make him a Musalman and then all the people including ourselves, will of our own accord adopt the faith." They obeyed the Guru and proceeded to Delhi to urge his self-sacrificing proposal. The Emperor adopted it with extreme joy. The Guru took leave of his family and began his journey to Delhi." [12]

Apart from the fantasy depicted in the above account, it is difficult to believe that the Sikh Chief who drew his converts from among the Hindus would have pleaded the cause of a religion in the citadel of which he tried to make breaches. And it is extremely improbable that Aurangzeb would have parleyed in the manner that he did.

Ram Rai intrigues against Tegh Bahadur.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Punjab.* (f. 191), after the election of Tegh Bahadur as Guru, Ram Rai began to intrigue against his uncle, with the result that the Guru found his safety in attaching himself to Raja Ram Singh. When Tegh Bahadur went back to his home, he was again pursued by his

12. Macauliffe, IV. 378

implacable foe. Ram Rai represented to Aurangzeb that the Guru had taken the title of *Sacha Badshah* (True King), and declared himself a saint capable of performing miracles.

The Guru was summoned before Aurangzeb, when Ram Rai asked the former to give proof of his mysterious powers. When asked to perform miracles, he said he knew nothing else but how to pray for the Emperor's long life and prosperity. Fearing persecution from Ram Rai, and tired of his nephew's enmity, the Guru resolved to end his life. He alleged that he knew a charm which would shield him from every personal injury. Wearing an amulet round his neck, he asked someone to strike his head with a naked sword which, he said, would not hurt him. This was tried, with the result that he lost his head. When the amulet was opened, the following words were found written in Persian '*sar dad sirray na dad*'. (Gave the head, but not the secret).

Why was Tegh Bahadur executed?

We, however, think that the real cause of Tegh Bahadur's execution was his grave offence against the State. "The violent contests of the Sikhs," writes Malcolm, "are mentioned by most of their writers, and though they disagree in their accounts, they all represent Tegh Bahadur as falling the innocent sacrifice of Mohammadan despotism and intolerance, which, from the evidence of all respectable contemporary Mohammadan authors, would appear not to be the fact. Tegh Bahadur, according to them, provoked his execution by a series of crimes. He joined forces, they state, with a Moslem Fakir, of the name of Hafiz-ud-din, and, supported by a body of armed mendicants, committed the most violent depredations on the peaceable inhabitants of the Punjab.' [13] Writing about Tegh Bahadur,

13. *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 38.

a Muslim historian, says, "Finding himself at the head of so many thousand people, he aspired to sovereignty, and united himself to one Adam Hafiz, a Mussulman *dervish* of the fraternity of Shah Ahmad Serhindy. These two persons no sooner saw themselves at the head of many followers than, forsaking every honest occupation, they began to plunder and to lay waste the whole province of the Punjab ; for, whilst Tegh Bahadur levied contributions on the Hindus, Hafiz Adam did the same upon the Mussalmans. Their excesses having attracted the notice of Emperor Aurangzeb, he commanded the Viceroy of the Punjab to seize these two leaders, with orders to send the Musalman to Afghanistan, warning him not to cross the river Attock again under pain of death ; while he directed that Tegh Bahadur, the other freebooter, should be sent prisoner to the fort of Gwalior. The Governor executed his orders promptly. Some time after this, Tegh Bahadur suffered death ; and his body, being cut into four quarters, was exposed at the four gates of the fortress of Gwalior."[14]

The violent depredations of the Sikhs naturally demanded stern measures. It was then that 'Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (*masands*) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities'. (K. K. II. 652.). A chief who declared himself ' true king,' had a large body of armed followers, collected tributes, and levied forcible contributions on the people could not but cause grave misgiving to the powers that be. Commenting on the assumption of the title of *Sacha Badshah* by Tegh

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14. *Siyar ul-Mutakherin* (Brigg's edition) 74, 75.

Even if Tegh Bahadur's execution for his refusal to accept Islam is true, we have no doubt that he was arrested for his violent depredations and ordered to be executed. He was, however, asked to save his life by accepting Islam, and this he refused to do. He was executed for his crimes against the State and not for refusing to embrace Islam.

Bahadur, William Irvine rightly says, "This title was readily capable of a two-fold interpretation; it might be applied, as the occasion served, in a spiritual or a literal sense. Its use was extremely likely to provoke the mistrust of a ruler even less suspicious by nature than Alamgir."[15]

Guru Govind.

The history of the Sikhs, after the death of Tegh Bahadur, enters upon a new phase. Henceforth, it becomes the history of a people commencing their military career to wreak their vengeance on the Muslims. Govind, the son of Tegh Bahadur, was acknowledged by the Sikhs as their spiritual leader, and harbouring an implacable resentment against the Government, he used his influence to effect a complete change in the aims of his sect. The Sikhs were trained in the use of arms, and were taught to devote themselves to wage war against the Muslims, and always to have steel about them in some shape or other.

It is a curious irony of circumstances that, though it was the Hindu Rajas who suffered most from the aggressiveness of the rising sect, and though it was in response to their call for aid that stern measures were taken against the disturbers of the peace, yet Aurangzeb has been blamed even by sober-minded Hindus for unjustly provoking the Sikhs.

It would be tedious to follow the Guru in all his raids against the Hindu Rajas, but a brief quotation from Malcolm will serve to indicate the circumstances which brought about a conflict between the Sikhs and the Mughals. "An account of Govind's war with the Raja of Kahlur is found in a work written in the *Augar*, or mountain dialect of the Punjabi tongue, which gives an account of some other actions of this chief. Though this account is greatly exaggerated, no doubt it states some facts correctly; and therefore

15. *Later Mughals* I. 79.

merits a brief notice. According to this authority, the Rajas of Kahlur, Jiswal and others, being defeated and disgraced in several actions, applied to the Court of Aurangzeb for aid against Guru Govind, from whom they stated that they had received great injuries. When the Emperor asked who made the complaint, the answer was, "It is the chief of Kahlur, thy servant, who has been despoiled of his country by violence, though a faithful zemindar and one who has always been punctual in paying his contributions." Such were the representations, the author states, by which they obtained the aid of an army from the Emperor.[16]

Rajas' petition to Aurangzeb.

The Rajas, having been despoiled of their territory, appealed to Aurangzeb for help, and then the combined forces proceeded against Guru Govind, who was besieged at Anandpur. The Guru, however, managed to escape, but his mother and two children, who had taken shelter at Sirhind, were made prisoners and taken to the Governor, by whose order the two children were put to death. According to Browne, (*India Tracts*), Wazir Khan the *faujdar* of Sirhind, first treated the children with kindness, but at the instigation of his chief subordinate, Saj Anand Brahman, he had them executed.

Guru Govind, after his escape, went to Chamkaur. The Mughal army, supported by Rajas hostile to Govind, then marched to Chamkaur, and surrounded him on all sides. The Guru fled, but was captured by one Nabi Khan. The Guru prayed for mercy and Nabi Khan then took him to Bahlolpur to the house of Qazi Pir Mohammad, his tutor. The Qazi told him that the Mughal officers were pursuing the Guru, and it would be advisable for him to leave the place. He suggested that the Guru should put on a blue dress and

The capturo of the Guru.

16. *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 63, 67. *The History of the Sikhs* I. 85.

make himself look like a Haji.[17] Another version is that Guru Govind, in his critical situation, applied to the Afghans living beyond Sirhind, and promised them a large sum of money if they would conduct him to a place of safety. Having dressed the Guru in the garb of a Haji or a returned pilgrim from Mecca, the Afghans succeeded in taking him to a safe place. Henceforward, the Guru retained the garb of a Haji in memory of his escape, and he made it the distinctive dress of his followers.[18]

Govind's petition in verse.

Guru Govind, overtaken by calamities, and having suffered great misery and distress, wrote a petition to Aurangzeb in Persian verse enumerating his misfortunes. This epistle is known as *Zafarnamah.* It is alleged that the Guru sent the letter to the Emperor by Daya Singh and Dharam Singh who succeeded in delivering it. The perusal of the letter is said to have softened the Emperor's heart, hence his permission to the Guru's messengers to return to their own country in peace and safety. The messengers, however, received no verbal or written reply to the Guru's letter.[19]

Though the Guru's messengers took the Persian epistle to Aurangzeb, from the petition itself it is difficult to say as to who was the real addressee. At one place, the Guru acknowledges the message sent to him through a Qazi and invites the addressee to meet him in the village Kangar (now in Nabha State, 70 miles north-west of Sirhind) so that he may show his kindness to him, *i. e.*, the addressee.[20] The above message could not have been addressed to Aurangzeb. In fact, the verses in praise of the latter are full of compliments,

17 *Tarikh-i-Punjab* f. 200.

18 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 75.

19 Macauliffe V. 201.

20 که قاضی مرا گفت بیرون نیم * اگر راستی خود بیاری قدم
که تشریف در قصبه کانگر کند * وزان پس ملاقات باهم شود
بیا تا بهم خود زبانی کنیم * بروے شما مهربانی کنیم

and the Guru openly declares himself a servant of the Emperor.[21] In the petition, there are repeated references to a broken pledge, the nature of which has not been indicated. At one place, the Guru, complaining of his sufferings at the hands of the mischievous hill Rajas, appeals to Aurangzeb by declaring that the former are idol worshippers, while he himself was an idol-breaker.

There can be no doubt that after the despatch of the petition to Aurangzeb, the Guru was not molested, which fact naturally gives rise to the surmise that the Emperor must have sent some orders to his officers in the Punjab. The author of the *Tarikh-i-punjab* says that the Guru was allowed to live peacefully wherever he liked. According to Macauliffe, no reply, verbal or written, was given to the Guru's messengers.[22]

After the death of Aurangzeb (2nd March, 1707), Guru Govind was given a *mansab* by Bahadur Shah and joined the Mughal army. Soon after, the Guru was stabbed by a Pathan

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21 خوشا شاہ شاہان اورنگ زیب   که چالاک دست ست و چابک رکیب
چه حسن الجمال است و روشن ضمیر   خداوند ملک ست صاحب امیر
به ترتیب دانش به تدبیر تیغ   خداوند دیگ و خداوند تیغ
به بخشش کبیر ست و در جنگ کوه   ملایک صفت چون ثریا شکوه
شهنشاه اورنگ زیب عالمین   که دارای دور است و دور است دین
منم کشته ام کوهیان پر فتن   که آن بت پرستند و من بت شکن
شهنشاه را بنده و چاکریم   اگر حکم آید بجان حاضریم
اگر چه بیاید بفرمان من   حضورت بیایم همان جان و تن
اگر تو به یزدان پرستي کني   بکار مرا این نه سستي کني

22 One Hakim Arshi of Dhanola, Nabha State, published the Guru's petition, known as *Zafarnamah*, through the Qureshi Book Agency, Lahore, in 1926, and at page 32 of his tract made an assertion about Aurangzeb's *firman* which, he declared he himself had seen. This *firman* was in reply to the Guru's petition. I sent several letters to the Hakim without receiving any reply. I then wrote to the President, Council of Regency, Nabha State, who very kindly in his letter, dated 10th August 1930, wrote to say that the Hakim "reports that he has not got the original or a copy of the farman in question."

soldier's son whose father had been killed by Guru Govind. The Guru died at Nader (Haidarabad State) in November, 1708.

Decline of the Sikhs.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace the subsequent history of the Sikhs or relate the inhuman barbarities of Banda and the cruel punishment meted out to him and his followers. But it may be remarked that by the time of Aurangzeb, the Sikhs had not only lost all trace of Guru Nanak's lofty spiritualism and elevated ideals, but had also degenerated into roving bands the reverse of peaceful. Their evangel was not of love but of hatred. They were not fired with missionary zeal; they only exploited their narrow sectarianism for selfish ends. Sacrifices they readily made not for an 'idea' but in response to blind devotion to their leaders. They were undoubtedly good and hardy soldiers but very rough. If a people's genius is to be measured only by military renown, they have less claim to fame than the Marathas. The latter measured swords with a mighty potentate, while the former used their lances against impotent imbeciles. While the Mughal Empire was in the swift process of dissolution, the Sikhs organised themselves into forceful adversaries However, they wrested the Punjab not from the Taimurides, but from the Afghan successors of Nadir Shah. It was "the dissensions of the Government of Kabul" that made the Sikhs a ruling power. Their activities in Aurangzeb's time did not even warrant any special measures; the local governors were strong enough to cope with them, and they did, in fact, break their power.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SHIAS.

Rivalry between Iran and Turan.

The rivalry between Persia and Trans-Oxania is of long standing. Iran and Turan signify not only two different countries, but two distinct groups of people differing from each other in race and religion. The Persians belong to the Shia sect which denies the Caliphate of the first three Caliphs, and acknowledges Hazrat Ali as the true Caliph. The Turanis are mostly adherents of the Sunni faith which recognises all the four Caliphs.

When the Mughals, who hailed from Trans Oxania, settled down in India, both the Iranis and Turanis flocked to the Mughal Court. A rivalry soon grew up between the two groups, but the Mughal Emperors kept the balance even and made no discrimination in patronage. The Persian nobles in India were always true to the Emperors at Delhi; but, rightly or wrongly, it was alleged against them, perhaps by their rivals at Court, that in all matters concerning the Shah of Persia or any other Shia Kingdom, their loyalty underwent a change.

Lukewarmness of the Shias.

When Akbar sent Abdurrahim Khan-i-Khanan for the conquest of the Deccan, the latter did not conduct the campaign in a satisfactory manner. "The Khan Khanan," writes Vincent Smith, "who belonged to a Shia family, but professed outward conformity with the Sunni ritual, was more than suspected of continuing to be at heart a follower of the Imams and to be a secret supporter of the Shia Deccan Sultans, whom he was expected to destroy."[1]

When Qandhar was captured by the Persians in 1648, Shahjahan twice besieged the fort, but failed to win it back.

1 *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 270; Blochmann, *Ain*, Vol. I, 338.

"The first failure," writes Bernier, "was owing to the bad conduct or the perfidy of the Persian Omrahs in the Great Mogal's service, the most powerful noblemen of his Court, and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a shameful lukewarmness during the siege, refusing to follow the Raja Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest to the mountain."[2]

The conquest of the Deccan States has been attributed to religious bigotry; a variety of anecdotes has sprung up in consequence of the extinction of the Shia kingdoms, and Aurangzeb has been blamed for violent sectarianism. It is not, however, adequately realised that the constant threat of invasion of India by the Persians always reminded Aurangzeb of the sword of Damocles, and he had to be very much on the alert. The attitude of the Shah of Persia towards the Empire of India is well indicated by the fact that during the war of succession, the former wrote to the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur to avail themselves of the prevailing anarchy and profit by the dissensions among the Mughals.[3] While, on the one hand, the Shah invited Dara Shukoh to Persia and offered his help for the conquest of India, as was done for Humayun, on the other, he wrote to Murad to fight for the throne and offered to help the latter with the Persian army stationed at Qandhar; yet, subsequently he congratulated Aurangzeb on his elevation to the Peacock Throne.[4] For this purpose he sent a grand embassy under Budaq Beg who received a royal welcome at Delhi and was treated with great consideration.[5] But when Aurangzeb sent an embassy to Persia at

The Shah of Persia: a constant threat to the Empire.

2 Bernier's Travels, 184-185.

3 *Manshat-i-Tahir-Wahid*, p. 13.

4 Ibid, 5, 9, 19.

5 Manucci, II. 47-54.

the end of 1663, under Tarbiyat Khan, the latter was very rudely treated by Shah Abbas II who 'made a mock of him and of Aurangzeb.' Many tales of Tarbiyat Khan's discomfiture have been related by Manucci [6] which, if true, tend to stress the pique and petulance of the Persian king.

His unseemly attitude.

Not content with the insults heaped on the Mughal ambassador, the Shah wrote a very taunting letter to Aurangzeb rating him for the murder of his brothers, and for adopting the title of *Alamgir*.[7] "At the same time he ordered forty-five horses from his stables to be given to Tarbiyat Khan, telling him to go back to his master and inform him that he sent those horses, so that he might not have the excuse of a deficiency of horses for not taking the field against him."[8] When the Mughal ambassador arrived at Delhi with the horses, it is alleged that Aurangzeb ordered them to be slaughtered at the doors of the Persian nobles of his Court. Khafi Khan relates an interview between Sa'adat Khan, the Mughal envoy at Golkunda, and the nobles of Abul Hasan's Court who taunted Aurangzeb for slaughtering the horses and for not making use of them. Sa'adat Khan's retort was very clever. He said that Aurangzeb was not prompted by any pique in having the horses slaughtered. At the time when the horses were brought for inspection, Aurangzeb was busy reading the Quran. He was meditating postponing the recitation of the Holy Book when he came across the verse narrating the story of King Solomon who, while inspecting the stables,

The story of horses.

6 Ibid, II, 128-131 ; 146-147.

7 *Faiyaz-ul-Qawanin*.

8 Manucci, II, 131.

missed his obligatory prayer. Struck with remorse, Solomon subsequently had his horses numbering about nine hundred slaughtered. Sa'adat Khan added that Aurangzeb, considering the similarity of circumstances, regarded the verses of the Quran as a Divine order, and had the horses slaughtered.[9]

Though in the trial of wit Sa'adat Khan triumphed, the story of horses serves to indicate some of the unsavoury tales relating to Aurangzeb William Irvine in one of his valuable notes quotes an eye witness who 'saw Aurangzeb break in pieces the sword sent by the Persian king; he ordered the fragments to be stamped to 'pother,' burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river. The horses were given away." [10]

Aurangzeb's apprehension.

When Shah Abbas II threatened to invade India, he is alleged to have said that as most of the nobles of the Mughal Court were Persians and his subjects, not one of the latter would dare to side with Aurangzeb. Though Persia was not strong enough to invade India, Aurangzeb became very uneasy in his mind. "Tahir Khan and Qibad Khan, who were Turani nobles, pointed out to His Majesty that since the days of Humayun, the Persians had not been responsible for a single act of disloyalty, and any suspicion against them would be extremely injudicious. Aurangzeb appreciated the advice and, calling Jafar Khan, the prime minister, embraced him and sent a robe of honour to Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Jumla."[11]

Though there were strong cultural ties between India and Persia, the interplay of religious and sectional antipathies exercised a somewhat disintegrating influence over the Indian

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9 K. K. II. 325-326.

10 *Storia*, II. 146, note 2, quoting the account by John Cambel, 'gunfounder,' in the British Museum, Sloane Ms., No. 811, fol. 6-b.

11 *Mirat-ul-wardat*, f. 91.

politics of the seventeenth century. As Iran was a great Shia kingdom, not only the Persian nobles but the entire Shia community looked on Persia with justifiable pride and with a feeling of love and respect. The dual loyalty to the land of birth and to the land of adoption, however, sometimes created embarrassing situations, and the Mughal Emperors would have been grossly negligent, had they failed to take into account the diverse influences at work among their subjects.

Mughal interference in the Deccan.

In subsequent chapters we have dealt at length with the affairs in the Deccan and described the steady encroachment of the Mughals on the dominions of the southern Muslim kingdoms. In their dealings with the Deccan rulers, Akbar and Jahangir were actuated by a passion for conquest and greed of power. But Shahjahan, in addition to imperialistic considerations, sought out religious motives for interference in the Deccan. He wrote to the Sultan of Golkunda to desist from publicly execrating the first three Caliphs and threatened to invade his country if the unseemly practice was not stopped. Qutb Shah complied with the imperial demands and acknowledged Shahjahan as his over-lord. The appearance of the Marathas, however, added fresh complexities to the current political conditions, and Aurangzeb had no alternative left but to annex the kingdoms of Golkunda and Bijapur. The Shia nobles serving under Aurangzeb had no heart for a task which was extremely unpalatable to them. Their feelings and sentiments were natural, but the fact remains that they did show a degree of lukewarmness in carrying out the behest of their master. Even Khafi Khan had to admit the indifferent attitude of the Persians.[12]

Though, in spite of repeated warnings, the incessant intrigues of the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur with the

12 K. K. II., 359 صف شکن خان باوجود آنکه بدل و جان خلاف دیگر اهل ایران در تسخیر قلعه کد و جهد تمام داشت

Marathas brought about their ruin, the secret sympathy that the Persian nobles felt for the tottering kingdoms could not but affect Aurangzeb's attitude. The Persian *emigres* in India owed their wealth and power to the Mughals; and, if Aurangzeb sometimes showered uncomplimentary epithets on some of them for their lack of zeal and disregard of duty, his conduct is beyond challenge.

Disloyal Persians.

Aurangzeb must have had some disloyal Persian nobles in his mind when he had a talk with Khawja Abdurrahim.[13]

" One day," writes Aurangzeb in one of his letters, " he was standing in my presence with a country-made dagger hanging from his waist. I liked the dagger and said, " Its make is very fine." He replied, " Its name is better than its make." I asked, "what is that?" He replied, "*Rafzi-Kush.*" (*i.e.* Shia-slayer). I observed, " I also want to get *three or four* daggers prepared of the same make and name for the state "[14]

Aurangzeb's remarks, whether uttered in jest or reflecting his inner sentiments, have been unreasonably distorted and clothed with a meaning which the words do not warrant. On the basis of a stray remark the allegation has been made that Aurangzeb hated all the Shias, although it is unmistakeably clear from the text of the letter that only three or four disloyal persons were meant to be implied.

We have previously described how the Mughal ambassador was ill-treated by the Persians and how Shah Abbas II sent a very insulting letter to Aurangzeb. Roused to fury, Aurangzeb often called the Persians by the abusive epithet of *ghul-i-bayabani* (corpse-eating demons). Aurangzeb's

13 Abdurrahim was a native of Farghana, in Afghanistan. He first came to India in the reign of Shahjahan, and served under Aurangzeb for several years. He died in 1692.

14 *Letters of Aurangzeb* by J. H. Billimoria, p. 131.

expressions were actuated by strained political relations with Persia, and it would be unjust to say that he ever applied the offensive term to the Shia nobles of his court. Utterances prompted by political rupture or any extraordinary circumstance are not to be treated as a reliable indicator of normal tone and temper. The abusive language used by the press of the belligerents during the Great War did not signify the abiding sentiments of the warring nations ; and yet Aurangzeb has been judged by different rules and canons.[15]

Restrictions against the Persians.

Aurangzeb's hatred of the Shias is alleged to be evidenced by the fact that he did not allow newly arrived Persians to be posted to any of the parts on the west coast, and once finding that the *Bakhsi* and two *Nazims* of Lahore were Shias, he ordered their immediate transfer elsewhere.[16] In a previous chapter (page 191, ante) we have stated that the Mughals never allowed the Pathans to be put in charge of forts. The restrictions against the Persians were similarly dictated by administrative expediency, and it is futile to introduce religious bias in arrangements necessitated by political considerations.

The Persians themselves did not spare the Mughals. Writes Manucci, "One day, speaking of Aurangzeb's hypocrisy, Shah Abbas called him his slave, *as the Persians are used to do in naming Indians.* Another time he scoffed at the complexion and customs of the people of Hindustan." (II. 129). Shah Abbas II calls the Mughal Emperors *ghaddar-i-bad-kirdar* or evil-doing usurpers. (Tahir Wahid, 11, 13).

15 Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, "To him (Aurangzeb) a Shia was a heretic (*rafizi*), and he usually calls the Persians carrion-eating demons. (*Irani ghul-i-bayabani*); but this tone may have been partly due to his political rupture with the Safvi Shahs. In one of his letters he tells us how he was pleased with a dagger presented to him by a noble man, which was named *Rafzikush* or Shia-slayer, and ordered some more of the same shape and *name* to be made for him. The result was that his Shia officers had to practise hypocrisy in order to save themselves." (*Mughal Administration*, 156).

16 *Mughal Administration*, 158-159, and note.

Aurangzeb's estimate of Turanis and Iranis is indicated by the following anecdote :

Aurangzeb's estimate of Turanis and Iranis.

Muhammad Amin Khan, afterwards known as Chin Bahadur (See M. U. I. 349), once submitted a petition to Aurangzeb praying for the post of the paymaster on the ground that both the paymasterships have been conferred on the heretical Persians. Across the sheet of the petition Aurangzeb wrote, " What connection have earthly affairs with religion and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry?.........Your request for a paymastership is appropriate. The reason that acts as a hindrance is that the Turani people, your followers, who are brethren from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying, 'do not throw yourself into destruction with your own hands'—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle......The Persians, whether born in *Vilayet* or in Hindustan, are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement (*i. e.,* flight)."[17]

In his last will and testament Aurangzeb says, " None is better suited for the post of *Mutasaddi* than the Persians. Ever since the time of Humayun, they have not once fled from the field; they never rebelled, nor did they prove false to their salt. But as they love position and power (*izzat talab*) it is difficult to pull on with them, but one must do it." [18]

Ruhullah Khan's deception.

Ruhullah Khan was a prominent noble and a cousin of Aurangzeb, his mother being a sister of Mumtaz Mahal. When the Emperor visited the Khan during his last illness, the latter told him that he had abjured Shiaism and adopted the Sunni creed.

17 *Anecdotes*, 99-100.

18 *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*. (I. O. L)

He requested the Emperor to marry his daughters to Sunnis and bestow favours on his sons.

Aurangzeb smiled and said, "Verily love for his children has rendered this man helpless. There is no falling off in your wisdom and power of contrivance. Most probably you have made this plan in the hope that out of respect for the pure soul of a Sunni I shall look graciously at and show kindness to your children. But this plan can do good only if every one of them too says the same thing (*i. e.*, accepts the Sunni creed). There is no probability at all that they would lay this *shame* (*i. e.*, *apostacy*) on themselves."[19]

The above anecdote serves to show that, urged by ignoble passions, some men tried to deceive Aurangzeb by an apparent change of religion, but he hated such people for making deception their abiding characteristic.

Aurangzeb's regard for Sayyids.

Aurangzeb regarded the Sayyids with great respect and treated them with consideration. Once it was reported to the Emperor that Bidar Bakht, the son of Prince Azam, quarrelled with his wife, the daughter of Mukhtar Khan, who traced his descent from the Prophet through Abul Mukhtar, *naqib* of Hazrat Ali's Mashhad. Bidar Bakht one day told his wife that 'the daughter of a rascal (*paji*) ought not to show such pride to princes.' Aurangzeb wrote to Bidar Bakht, "To apply the term *paji* to the Sayyids is to act like a *paji*. If a Sayyid is called a *paji*, it will not make him a *paji*. If I do not learn from the letters of the *mahaldar* and the *nazir* that you have

19 *Anecdotes*, 139. The above anecdote has led Sir Jadunath Sarkar to say that 'the Shias had good reasons for concealing their faith from him." (*Mughal Administration*, 158). We are not in possession of a single incident in which a Shia tried to conceal his faith from Aurangzeb. In fact, most of the powerful nobles were Shias and *openly* professed their creed. Aurangzeb hated hypocrisy, and if there were more men like Ruhullah Khan, they fully deserved Aurangzeb's contempt.

made up with this Sayyid girl, you will meet with rebuke, nay, more, with punishment."[20]

Aurangzeb did not allow any one to transgress the limits of propriety. He freely administered reproofs to Sunnis and Shias, Turanis and Iranis, if he found cause for censure. Apart from pressing reasons of administrative expediency, he made no discrimination against any sect or creed. The charge of anti-Shiaism levelled against Aurangzeb is wholly and mainly due to the conquest of Golkunda and Bijapur. In subsequent chapters the reader will find how circumstances forced Aurangzeb to annex the two States. It may, however, be noted that contemporary historians, almost all of whom were Persians, overwhelmed by the extinction of the Shia kingdoms, have allowed their judgments to be very much influenced by the tragic incident. There is a strain of subtle derision (*hajv-i-malih*) in their anecdotes, many of which will not stand the test of critical scrutiny.

20 *Anecdotes*, 80-81.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DECCAN: GOLKUNDA.

The perennial conflict between northern and southern India.

The Vindhya and the Satpura ranges of hills divide the Indian peninsula into two distinct regions —the Indo-Gangetic plains in the north, and the Deccan table-land in the south. Since the dawn of history, the rulers of the north and the south have attempted to dominate each other; and though the peoples living beyond the Narbada have been more than once successful in imposing their rule on the inhabitants of the south, each, in the plenitude of power, have tried to realise the ambitious dream of being the sole rulers from the Cape to the Himalayas. The Deccan, down to the latitude of Madras, was subjugated by Bindusara, the father of Asoka. After the end of the Sunga dynasty in 27 B. C. the Andhras, "probably a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language," held Magadha as a dependency for considerable period. The *Harishena*, an elaborate composition in Sanskrit, records the campaigns of Samudragupta directed against eleven Kings of the South. "Samudragupta vanquished the chieftain who held Pishtapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga, now Pithapuram in the Godavari district, as well as the hill-forts of Mehendragiri and Kothura in Ganjam; King Mantaraja, whose territory lay on the banks of the Kolleru (Colair) lake; the neighbouring King of Vengi between the Krishna and Godawri rivers; and Vishnugopa, the Pallava King of Kanchi or Conjeevaram...........He returned homewards through the western parts of the Deccan, subduing on his way the Kingdom of Devarashtra, or the modern Mahratta country, and Khandesh." [1] This campaign was

Samudragupta.

[1] *The Early History of India* by Vincent Smith.

concluded in 340 A. D. In the seventh century, King Harsha (606-648 A. D.), with a force of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry tried to bring all India 'under one umbrella.' But his career of victory was checked by Pulakesin II, the greatest of the Chalukya dynasty, who did not allow the paramount lord of the North to cross the Narbada.

Malik Kafur.

In the Muslim period, Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji, 'repeated the performance of Samudragupta' in the year 1309 and 1310 A. D. He went as far south as Rameshvaram or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque. In 1347, the great Bahmani Kingdom was formed which flourished for a century and a half. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Bahmani Kingdom broke up into five independent States—Berar under the Imad Shahs (1484-1572); Bidar under the Barid Shahs (1492-1609); Ahmadnagar under the Nizam Shahs (1490-1637); Bijapur under the Adil Shahs (1489-1686); and Golkunda under the Qutb Shahs (1489-1686).

At the time when the above five States were formed, there were no strong and ambitious rulers at Delhi, with the result that the Deccan States were free from interference. But, with the advent of the Mughals and the consolidation of the Empire by Akbar, the traditional policy of the Hindu kings was revived—the North trying to dominate the South.

By the time of Akbar, Berar had passed into the hands of Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar, and Bidar held only the small principality of Khandesh. Out of the four States, Bijapur and Golkunda had friendly relations with the Shah of Persia, a circumstance upon which the Mughals always looked with grave misgivings.

Akbar's aggression.

After Akbar had practically subdued the whole of northern India, he turned his attention southward. But, before using force, he sent missions to the four rulers of the Deccan in 1591 calling upon them to acknowledge his suzerainty 'without putting him to the trouble of fighting and defeating them.' The small kingdom of Khandesh, then ruled by a prince of the Faruki dynasty, acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty. The capital of Khandesh was Burhanpur, which still survives. The remaining three States refused to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy. The Emperor then sent Khan-i-Khanan (Abdurrahim) in 1593, with a large army to conquer the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was the first to be invested. Chand Bibi, the sister of Burhanul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, heroically defended the city. Peace was ultimately restored in 1596. Berar was ceded to the Mughals, and Ahmadnagar acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty. The treaty, however, was soon violated, and attempts were made to recover Berar. War broke out again; Ahmadnagar fell, but the Mughals failed to profit by the fruits of victory owing to dissensions in their ranks. The project of annexing the kingdoms of Golkunda and Bijapur was given up by Akbar.

Malik Ambar.

When Jahangir came to the throne, he had to reckon with a man of remarkable talents. Malik Ambar was one of the nobles of Ahmadnagar. On the fall of the old capital, he raised a scion of the Nizam Shahi dynasty to the throne, transferred his capital to Khadki, and formed an alliance with Bijapur and Golkunda. Jahangir sent Prince Khurram to the Deccan, and he concluded peace with Ambar. Two years after in 1620, Malik Ambar violated the treaty, occupied the major part of Mughal Ahmadnagar and Berar, crossed the Narbada and plundered the suburbs of Mandu. Shahjahan was again in the field. The Mughal territory

occupied by the Deccanis was returned to the Emperor and the Deccan Confederacy—Bijapur, Golkunda, and Ahmadnagar—was forced to pay tribute.[2]

At the end of 1622 Shahjahan rebelled against Jahangir. Having been routed in Gujarat, Shahjahan looked round for help and began negotiations with Malik Ambar and Bijapur. As the Malik was meditating a war with Bijapur and was anxious to secure Jahangir's aid, he rejected Shahjahan's alliance; while Bijapur openly insulted Shahjahan's ambassador and refused his request with disdain. Mahabat Khan being in hot pursuit of Shahjahan, the latter crossed the Tapti and entered the Golkunda territory. Mahabat Khan then formed an alliance with Bijapur. Malik Ambar in his turn laid siege to Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. When Shahjahan arrived on the scene, Malik Ambar made common cause with him, and the siege of Burhanpur was vigorously pressed. There was, however, a reconciliation between Jahangir and Shahjahan in March 1626, and the civil war came to an end.

Golkunda and Shahjahan.

When Shahjahan came to the throne, Abdullah Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golkunda, kept friendly relations with the Emperor, yet acknowledged the over-lordship of the Shah of Persia. No Mughal Emperor could tolerate this. But what roused the Emperor's wrath more than anything else was the news that the Shias of Golkunda were publicly execrating the three Caliphs of the Prophet in indecent terms. Shahjahan at once wrote to the Sultan to desist from such an unseemly practice, and to acknowledge his suzerainty.[3] The Sultan agreed to become a vassal of the Emperor, pay

2 *Badshahnama*, 200. *History of Jahangir*, 234-5.

3 K. K. I. 517.

him an annual tribute and proclaim his name from the pulpit.[4] Shahjahan did not desire to meddle in the internal affairs of Golkunda; he wanted the regular payment of tribute. But this was no small item. It provided the seed of future strife which culminated in the extinction of the Muslim kingdoms in the south.

Mughal pressure on the Deccan.

At the time when Golkunda had agreed to accept Shahjahan's demands Bijapur was asked to restore some of the Nizam Shahi forts that were ceded to the Mughals but were subsequently occupied by the Bijapuris. As Adil Shah refused to comply with the imperial orders, Shahjahan went to the Deccan and exacted tribute from the Sultan. The conquest of the Muslim States, first begun by Akbar, was far advanced by the time of Shahjahan. The Mughal pressure was steadily increasing, and it can be safely observed that the entire Deccan would have ultimately passed into Mughal hands even without an Aurangzeb.

After settling terms with the Deccan States, Shahjahan returned to Northern India, leaving Aurangzeb as governor of the Deccan in 1636, whose first viceroyalty lasted till 1644.

The Deccanis were not favourably disposed towards the Mughals, as was quite natural. It was the dread of the Mughal army that kept them in order. Though they bowed before the Emperor's authority, yet their pride kicked sorely at their humiliation. The feeling of revenge was always agitating their minds. There was one factor which in some measure softened their vindictiveness. Shahjahan might dispatch peremptory orders for the payment of tribute, Aurangzeb might send them successive reminders, but they could always look to Dara for help and support. His friendly attitude towards Golkunda and Bijapur was due to two

4 *Shahjahan-nama*, 145.

reasons; firstly, he was sympathetic and generous by nature; secondly, he was ever ready to defeat Aurangzeb's projects. Thus a rivalry gradually sprang up between Aurangzeb and the Sultan of Golkunda. Feeling secure under the patronage of Dara. Qutb Shah thought that he could ignore Aurangzeb's power and authority with impunity, but he misjudged the character of his adversary.

Aurangzeb asks for instructions.

Aurangzeb left the Deccan in 1644, and after serving at different places, he was sent back again in 1653. The different causes of estrangement between Aurangzeb and Shahjahan during the second viceroyalty have been related in the 1st chapter of this book. The growing hostility of Shahjahan had made Aurangzeb extremely cautious. When he was coming to the Deccan, he had asked for Shahjahan's definite instructions as to the attitude to be adopted towards Golkunda and Bijapur. He also threw out a hint to the Emperor that the policy of the Sultans in carrying on direct correspondence with him behind the back of the viceroy was improper, affecting the prestige of the latter. But Shahjahan kept a discreet silence.

It was during the second viceroyalty of the Deccan that Aurangzeb came into collision with Qutb Shah, with whom he had many reasons for quarrel. Though Golkunda was a fertile country and rich in mines, and the Sultan had recently added a part of the Karnatak to his dominion, the annual tribute was always in arrears; and the difference in the rate of money exchange, adding a fresh burden to the State, further complicated matters. There was ill-feeling on both sides. Apart from other causes, as an open rupture between Qutb Shah and his minister, Mir Jumla brought about a state of war between Golkunda and Delhi, an account of the conflict will not be out of place.

Mir Jumla.

Mir Muhammad Said, known as Mir Jumla, was a favourite of fortune. A Persian by birth, he had come to the Deccan and had soon made a name for himself by his shrewdness and sagacity. He became engaged in the diamond trade and amassed great wealth through his successful business. His inborn genius, his dashing energy, administrative capacity and intelligence attracted the attention of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who made him his prime minister. The State of Golkunda was at that time seeking territorial expansion in the Karnatak. The Hindu Raja was offering a stubborn resistance and Qutb Shah could not wrest the country from him. Mir Jumla was sent to the Karnatak and by his ceaseless activity and determined effort soon added a large tract to the Sultan's dominions. In the conquered territory he found a vast scope for his resourceful talent and ambition. By his organizing capacity and inborn leadership he created a considerable army which was under his sole command.

His growing power caused misgivings to his master who, prompted by envious courtiers, secretly attempted an attack on his person. When the above news was communicated to Aurangzeb by the Mughal agent at Golkunda, he wrote to the latter that as Mir Jumla often expressed his devotion to the Emperor, "he (*i.e.*, the agent) should try to guide him to the noble court." (*Adab*, 39-b). In the meantime, in pursuance of his secret designs, Qutb Shah summoned Mir Jumla from the Karnatak, and attempted to deprive the latter of his eye-sight. But Mir Jumla got wind of the plot and escaped unhurt to the Karnatak.

Shahjahan and Aurangzeb try to win over Mir Jumla.

When Shahjahan heard of Mir's return to the Karnatak, he wrote to Aurangzeb that "Mir Jumla, perhaps, having received no encouragement from you, and finding himself helpless, went back (to the Karnatak)." In

a long letter detailing all the circumstances, Aurangzeb writes, "Qutb-ul-Mulk's peremptory and persistent messages summoning Mir Jumla to the capital deepened the latter's suspicions.........He has now made friends with the zamindar of the Karnatak and Adil Khan. If Mir Jumla decides to visit the noble Court, who will have courage to bar his way? I wrote to him twice that if he has any apprehensions on this point, he should write to me clearly so that I might send an army at any place selected by him for his escort, but I have not yet received any reply." (*Adab*, 48-b)

Later on, Aurangzeb received a letter from Mir Jumla which, along with a copy of his own reply, he sent to Shahjahan, and wrote to the latter that Mir Jumla was anxious to keep the entire correspondence secret. Shahjahan then sent some instructions to Aurangzeb about the grant of *mansab* to Mir Jumla and the despatch of imperial officers for his escort. In the meantime, Aurangzeb sent a letter and a robe of honour to Muhammad Amin, the eldest son of Mir Jumla, and instructed Muhammad Momin, an imperial officer, who was in the vicinity of the Karnatak, to go to Mir Jumla and assure him of imperial favours.

Mir Jumla makes peace with Qutb Shah.

Aurangzeb subsequently learnt from the Mughal Agent at Golkunda that Qutb Shah had patched up his differences with Mir Jumla who, on his part, had agreed either to return to Golkunda after two years or to go to holy places on pilgrimage. But from the interview which the Agent had with Muhammad Amin, it seemed that Mir Jumla was not sure of Qutb Shah's *bona fides*, and that the compromise was actuated by expediency. The Agent also informed Aurangzeb that if Muhammad Amin was assured of receiving high favours according to his desires, he would pay his respects to the noble Court. Consequently, Aurangzeb wrote to

Shahjahan for definite instructions as to the extent of imperial favours, and as regards the place where an escort might be sent to fetch Mir Jumla and Muhammad Amin.

Shahjahan sends a messenger to Golkunda.

The Emperor wrote to Aurangzeb that he has sent a messenger to Qutb-ul-mulk asking him not to stop Mir Jumla from proceeding to Court, and that the same officer has been instructed to bring Muhammad Amin and his family with him. In the meantime, Muhammad Momin, who was sent to Mir Jumla, came to Golkunda, and from that place wrote to Aurangzeb that the Mir was not disposed to leave the Karnatak for a year, as he was anxious to collect his goods lying in ports, and settle his affairs during that time. On the receipt of the above information, Aurangzeb asked the Emperor to countermand the issue of *firman* to Qutb Shah and the despatch of an officer to Mir Jumla. He further wrote to Shahjahan that Mir Jumla was extremely anxious that strictest secrecy should be maintained as to his intentions, otherwise the harm done to him will be beyond repair.

Mir Jumla's tactics.

The Emperor, recognizing the administrative abilities of Mir Jumla and the desirability of securing the services of a man well-versed in the affairs of the Deccan, had granted all his requests. He had commanded him to come to Court and enjoy the royal beneficence, but Mir Jumla was not yet disposed to move from his place. In fact, he was carrying on negotiations with three rulers and had no desire to commit himself to any side so soon. When Muhammad Momin came to Aurangzeb from Golkunda, the reasons for Mir Jumla's dilatoriness were explained to the latter. Aurangzeb then wrote to the Emperor that Mir Jumla was only biding his time, and that his whole plan was to keep himself secure in the Karnatak as long as possible without bringing

about an open rupture with Golkunda. This is revealed by Mir Jumla's keen anxiety to keep the negotiations that he was carrying on with Aurangzeb secret from his master at Golkunda. But somehow Qutb-ul-Mulk got scent of these transactions and vented his wrath on Muhammad Amin, who had remained at Golkunda.

Imprisonment of Mir Jumla's son.

Before the arrest of Muhammad Amin, however, Mir Jumla was alarmed at Qutb Shah's intentions against himself and was now in great hurry to enter the Mughal service. When Aurangzeb became convinced that the Mir was sincere, he made necessary recommendations to Shahjahan.

The incident of Muhammad Amin's arrest has been wrongly treated by some writers.[5] The Sultan of Golkunda is made to imprison Muhammad Amin for his insolent behaviour in once attending the court in an inebriated condition and spoiling the carpet by vomitting over it. Qutb-ul-Mulk's right to punish the haughty and impudent youngster is made a peg on which Shahjahan's uncalled for interference is hung and the whole occurrence receives adverse comments. We, however, find that Qutb-ul-mulk imprisoned Muhammad Amin, not when the latter came to Court reeling with drunkenness, but when he heard of Mir Jumla's secret transactions with the Mughal Emperor.

The true cause of the rupture between Delhi and Golkunda being of importance, we append the translation of the text from the *Maasir-ul-Umara* :—"They, *i. e.*, the (courtiers) turned Qutb Shah against Mir Jumla, and on account of the conduct and behaviour of his

True Cause of the rupture between Delhi and Golkunda.

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5 Compare Sarkar, Vol. I., p. 226.

son, Mir Muhammad Amin, (who was attached to the Court and who, intoxicated with his youth and wealth, became swollen-headed, and on account of the victories attained by his father, he transgressed his limit and wore an air of pride and arrogance. He came to court drunk one day and, falling asleep on the royal carpet, soiled it in crop-sickness. This disgusted the king.) Signs of his indifference began to appear. Mir Jumla, who in reward for his victories had great hopes, noticing the indifference, sought the alliance of Prince Aurangzeb and asked for his call (admission to service). On the request of the Prince, the Emperor sent a letter announcing the grant of a *mansab* of five thousand to Mir Jumla and of two thousand to his son, Muhammad Amin, and dispatched an order to Qutb Shah through Kazi Muhammad Arif Kashmiri not to interfere with the two men and their relations. On hearing this news Qutb Shah imprisoned Muhammad Amin with his family and forfeited all his belongings, and in spite of imperial orders he remained obdurate." [6]

The above statement is borne out also by Manucci who states that, "The King of Golkunda, finding that Mir Jumla did not mean to obey the repeated orders issued for his return to Court, directed the arrest of Muhammad Amin Khan." [7]

Tavernier gives the following account of the incident:

Tavernier's Account.

"The reputation and riches which Mir-gimola (Mir Jumla) had gained, raised

6 *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III., 531-532.

فردوس آشیانی بر طبق استدعاے شاهزاده منشور عنایت متضمن مرحمت
منصب پنج هزاری ذات و سوار و دو هزاری هزار سوار به میر محمد امین
پسرش و فرمان در باب عدم مخالفت و تعرض بدو و متعلقان او
به قطب شاه مصحوب قاضی محمد عارف کشمیری روانه فرمود - قطب شاه
بمجرد اضغائے این خبر محمد امین را قید نمود

7 *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. I., p. 234.

him up several enemies, who endeavoured in his absence to ruin him and to put him out of the King's favour. They pretended that the great power of Mirgimola was very much to be suspected ; that all his designs tended to dethrone him, and to settle the kingdom of Golkunda upon his own son. ....The King, being easily persuaded, gave them leave and authority to act as they pleased for his security ; but, having missed of their design for three or four times together, Mirgimola's son began to smell the plot ; and immediately gave advice thereof to his father. It is not known what instructions he received from his father, but so soon as he had his answer, he went to the King ; and spoke boldly to him, taxing him with the services which his father had done him. The young lord, naturally of fiery disposition, kept on this discourse, so displeasing to the King, till at length His Majesty flung away ; and the lords that were present, fell upon the young man, and basely misused him. At the same time also he was arrested and committed to prison, together with his mother and sisters." [8]

The Sultan is alleged to have imprisoned Muhammad Amin for drunkenness and for violent breach of manners. But why was the entire family of Mir Jumla imprisoned, when the punishment of the delinquent alone was needed ? The truth is that, at the time of arrest, Muhammad Amin's conduct was not in question.

Cause of Amin's imprisonment.

The arrest of Muhammad Amin took place before the arrival of Arif Kashmiri, but Aurangzeb had, in the meantime, informed Muhammad Amin of the recommendations he had made to the Emperor. This letter of Aurangzeb was shown to the Sultan at the time of Amin's arrest, but no notice was taken of it.

8 Tavernier's *Travels* (Bangbasi Office, Calcutta, 1905) 134-135.

It seems that Qutb-ul-Mulk was disgusted with the insolent demeanour of Muhammad Amin, but he had not the courage to take the field openly against Mir Jumla. Even when Mir Jumla had retired to the Karnatak, he did not pursue any vigorous policy against him. He kept on exchanging notes for months after Mir Jumla's flight in the hope that the game might walk into the trap by his persuasion and that the minister might come back to the capital. As long as the Sultan had some hope of Mir Jumla's return, he did not take any action even against his son's misbehaviour. But once he found that Mir Jumla had not only gone out of his grip, but had gone over to the Emperor as the nominee of Aurangzeb, of whom he was not particularly fond, his wrath knew no bounds and he vented his vengeance on Mir Jumla's family.

That Muhammad Amin's imprisonment was due to Mir Jumla's reported entry into Mughal service is further confirmed by Waris and Sudhari Lal.[9] Referring to the incident, the former says, "When the Prince heard of this from his local (Golkunda) representative, he made a report to the Emperor that Qutb-ul-Mulk through his cross disposition, *hearing of Mir Jumla's request to the Emperor*, (*i. e.* admission into the service) had imprisoned his son and his family and attached all his property." "To wake him up from the sleep of heedlessness," he wrote, "an order should be sent to him to the effect that, after the entry of Mir Jumla and his son into the Imperial service, the imprisonment of his son was disrespectful."[10]

The imprisonment of Muhammad Amin, as Aurangzeb hinted in his letter, denoted a want of respect to the Emperor.

9 *Tohfa-i-Shahjahani:*—

میر جمله بنابر آزردگی قطب الملک بجایی جناب آورده غائبانه منصب سر فرازی یافت
قطب الملک بحسد او پرخاشته میر محمد امین پسرش را قید نمود

10 Waris, p. 230.

He, therefore, asked Shahjahan for instructions. Aurangzeb at this time never suggested the annexation of Golkunda, as is commonly supposed.

Shahjahan's orders.

In reply, Shahjahan wrote that either Aurangzeb or his eldest son Muhammad Sultan should proceed to the fortress of Qandhar, and from that place a letter should be sent to the Sultan for the release of Muhammad Amin; failing which "he (*i. e.* the Sultan) should deem the victorious army encamped at Golkunda." (*Adab*). The Emperor also sent orders to Shaista Khan, Iftikhar Khan, Pirthavi Raj and other *mansabdars* to present themselves before Aurangzeb. On the receipt of Shahjahan's letter, Aurangzeb sent Hadidad Khan to the Golkunda frontier and instructed him to wait there. He also sent a letter to Qutb-ul-Mulk particularly mentioning the disrespect shown by the latter when Muhammad Amin, at the time of his arrest, had pleaded for his release on the basis of his (*i.e.*, Aurangzeb's) letter. The Sultan was advised to release Mir Jumla's family and to avoid unnecessary discord.

Qutb Shah disobeys the order.

Qutb-ul-Mulk, however, not only paid no attention to Aurangzeb's warnings but also disregarded even Shahjahan's previous letter, dated the 3rd of December, 1655, sent through Arif Kashmiri, which announced Mir Jumla as the Emperor's protégé and bade the Sultan not to hinder the departure of his family. This *firman* having reached Aurangzeb on the 18th of December and having been duly sent to Golkunda and *disobeyed*, he asked his son Muhammad Sultan on the 26th of December to proceed to Nader and wait for orders. Aurangzeb writes to Shahjahan, "As previously related, I had sent a letter to Qutb-ul-Mulk before the arrival of Your Majesty's *firman* As I learn from my agent at Golkunda that Qutb-ul-Mulk is not willing to release Mir Jumla's son,

for the sake of final argument I sent Abul Qasim to Qutb-ul-Mulk. On the 8th of the present month (Rabi-ul-awal, 26th of December, 1655) I gave leave to Muhammad Sultan and asked him to reach Nader and stop there."[11]

The difficulty of Aurangzeb's position.

Though Aurangzeb could not but obey Shahjahan's orders, he hesitated from starting on the punitive expedition. His anxiety was lest Shahjahan, tempted by the offer of costly presents from Golkunda, should negative the project after he had started, thus leaving him exposed to ridicule. He writes, "My mind was set at rest from the anxiety that the time-serving Deccanis, by practising deception and offering costly presents, might spoil this case which has happened by sheer good luck, and after reaching the frontier I might be asked to return and thus look small in their eyes. God willing, acting on the royal orders, I shall give the order for camping on the 24th of the present month (11th January, 1656)."[12] This letter was written to Shahjahan on 7th of January. Aurangzeb's attitude was throughout marked by a caution, which, considering the adverse influence at work at the Court, was necessary. He never initiated any step or pursued any policy unless it had the explicit written consent of the Emperor. Having Shahjahan's order in his possession, he began to take definite measures.

The Mughals at Nader.

It should be noticed that Qutb-ul-Mulk had so far paid no heed to Aurangzeb's letters and Shahjahan's *firman*, dated the 3rd of December. Though Muhammad Sultan was encamped at Nader and was within striking distance of Haidarabad, yet Qutb Shah was resolved not to yield before his adversary. Aurangzeb writes, "Qutb-ul-Mulk, even after receiving Your Majesty's order and knowing of my son's

11 *Adab*, 60-b.

12 *Adab*, 61-b.

arrival at Nader, has not set Mir Jumla's son free."[13] Muhammad Sultan, however, was soon ordered to enter Golkunda territory. This he did on the 10th of January. Reporting the matter to Delhi, Aurangzeb wrote that Muhammad Sultan was proceeding towards Haidarabad, which he would reach in two weeks, but that Qutb Shah had not yet released Muhammad Amin. Later on, he writes, "Muhammad Sultan is approaching Haidarabad and in spite of my letter that I sent to Qutb-ul-Mulk on Your Majesty's order, he has not yet released Mir Jumla's son."[14]

The theory that Aurangzeb tried to put Qutb-ul-Mulk off his guard by suggesting that his son wanted to pass through Haidarabad on his way to Bengal and thus have him surprised by the army of Muhammad Sultan is incorrect. On nearing Haidarabad Muhammad Sultan sent a letter to Golkunda advising the Sultan to release the prisoners and settle the matter before it was too late.[15]

Aurangzeb did not precipitate Muhammad Sultan's march to Haidarabad, as is commonly supposed. It was when Qutb Shah had received Aurangzeb's three letters (the first, dated 9th of *Safar* = 28th November, 1655[16], the second, dated sometime after 26th of December[17]; and the third one sent sometime between the first two dates)[18] and Shahjahan's two *firmans*, dated 3rd and 24th of December respectively that Aurangzeb ordered Muhammad Sultan to proceed to Haidarabad.

Muhammad Sultan marches to Haidarabad.

The approach of the army and the peremptory royal orders opened Qutb Shah's eyes, and he sent Muhammad

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13 *Adab* 63-b.

14 *Adab* 65-b

15 *Adab*, 90-a.

16 *Adab*, 60-a.

17 *Adab*, 60 b.

18 *Adab*, 75 a.

Amin and his mother back to the Mughal camp. After the release of the prisoners, Aurangzeb sent orders to Muhammad Sultan to encamp near Haidarabad till Mir Jumla's arrival.

"I have asked my son," writes Aurangzeb to Shahjahan, "that, as Qutb-ul-Mulk has set Mir Jumla's son free, he should encamp near Haidarabad and stay at that place, according to your royal orders, till the arrival of Mir Jumla." [19] Muhammad Sultan's stay near Haidarabad, after the release of the prisoners, was ordered by Shahjahan and not by Aurangzeb. [20] Qutb Shah's failure, however, to restore Mir Jumla's property afforded the Mughals a pretext for occupying Qutb Shah's capital. Muhammad Sultan proceeded to Haidarabad and tried to encamp near the famous Husain Sagar tank. In the meantime, Qutb-ul-Mulk had left the city and taken refuge in the Golkunda fort on 22nd of January, 1656. On the approach of the Prince the Haidarabad troops stood to arms to bar his way, and began to harass the Mughals.

As the Prince was exposed to the attack of Golkunda troops on all sides, he entered the city on the 24th of January and gave strict instructions for the maintenance of order. Enormous booty fell into the hands of the Prince who took possession of the Sultan's palace. Qutb-ul-Mulk returned Mir Jumla's property on the 29th of January and sued for peace, but Muhammad Sultan could not entertain the proposal in the absence of his father. [21]

Sultan's palace occupied.

After sending Muhammad Sultan towards Haidarabad on the 7th of January, Aurangzeb had been waiting for the development of events at Nader. There he got information

19 *Adab*, 65-b.
20 *Adab*, 107-b.
21 Waris, 232.

about the movement of Adil Shah who was meditating an attack on the Mughals. The Sultan of Golkunda had requested the help of Adil Shah, who was contriving to threaten the Mughal flank. "It transpired from the writing of the minister at Bijapur that Adil Shah, though outwardly making a show of having no concern with Qutb-ul-Mulk, was secretly making preparations for his succour and was posting his own men on the frontier."[22] Later on, Aurangzeb writes, "It is heard that Adil Shah has sent a certain Afzal with a cavalry force of fifteen thousand to the help of Qutb Shah, and that Afzal has reached a place twenty miles from Haidarabad. Thinking that any delay would be harmful, I am, therefore, starting from Nader for Golkunda, where I will stay till Mir Jumla's arrival. If Your Majesty will allow me, I shall easily imprison Qutb-ul-Mulk and get possession of all his territory."[23] As Aurangzeb began his march on the 20th of January, 1656[24], this letter was, therefore, written about that date, that is, before the restoration of Mir Jumla's property and before the request for settlement which happened on the 29th of January.[25] With the two last mentioned letters before us, it cannot be said that Qutb Shah sought the aid of Bijapur *after* his restoration of the forfeited property and after the refusal of Muhammad Sultan to consider the peace terms.[26]

Aurangzeb, however, having all the intelligence about Qutb Shah's dealings with Bijapur, kept Shahjahan informed of all the developments and repeatedly asked the Emperor's permission for the annexation of Golkunda. It seems preposterous that for a trifling affair such as the imprisonment of Mir Jumla's family, the independence of a

22 *Adab*, 65-b.

23 *Adab*, 66-a.

24 *Maasirul-Umara*, Vol. III, 532.

25 Waris, 232.

26 Compare Sarkar, Vol. I., p. 233.

kingdom should be forfeited; but on a closer study we find that Muhammad Amin's confinement was not a detached event, but a link in a successive chain of incidents. Ever since his return to the Deccan, Aurangzeb had had to face a situation which was by no means enviable. There was Shahjahan who kept on sending reminders for the demand of the Golkunda tribute, which Qutb Shah was unable to meet. Aurangzeb had to produce the sum to keep himself in the good books of the Emperor. He suggested various methods of easy payment, but all this met with procrastination. It may be that Qutb Shah was really feeling the burden of Mughal exactions, but it was through no fault of Aurangzeb's. Though Shahjahan had exacted Golkunda's submission and reduced it to a tributary State, yet Aurangzeb's frequent insistence for the yearly tribute made Qutb-ul-Mulk think that all the harshness and severity in the matter were purely Aurangzeb's doing.

Causes of ill-feeling between Qutb Shah and Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb had at first no ill-will against the Sultan of Golkunda, This is borne out by his anxiety to protect Qutb Shah from the encroachment of Bijapur in the early days. "As I hear," writes Aurangzeb, "that Adil Khan seeking trouble with Qutb-ul-Mulk, desires to possess that part of his territory which he had acquired from the Zamindar of the Karnatak, I shall try to help him in the way Your Majesty would suggest."[27] Later on, however, owing to misunderstandings, Aurangzeb's attitude underwent a change. He writes to Shaista Khan, " Ever since the shadow of the noble standard fell on the limits of the Deccan, I left nothing undone to please Qutb-ul-Mulk; and, although he committed acts against fidelity and submission, I paid no heed to them. But since that man (Qutb Shah), careless about his future, from short-sightedness and the

27 *Adab*, 36-b.

promptings of vicious people, not knowing the value of my kindness, always behaved with duplicity, and now has had the audacity to be disrespectful, on account of his pride and vanity, I do not wish to spare him."[28]

Dara, an ally of Qutb Shah.

Aurangzeb's mention of Qutb Shah's duplicity had evidently a reference to the latter's alliance with Dara. In a political system where influence played a dominant part and people's fortune depended on the nature of its exertion, it was only natural that Qutb Shah should be anxious to claim the friendship of someone at the capital who might sometimes plead his cause. Qutb Shah's acknowledgment of Dara's patronage gave offence to Aurangzeb, as there was no love lost between the two brothers. If Aurangzeb was jealous, Qutb Shah was tactless. Expediency demanded the cultivation of more amicable relations with the governor of the Deccan. Aurangzeb was so much disgusted with Qutb Shah that he wrote to Mir Jumla that he wanted to send the Sultan to "the wilderness of destruction." [29] He even plainly asked for Qutb Shah's head. [30]

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28 *Adab*, 143-b.

29 *Adab*, 108-a.

30 Aurangzeb's design on Qutb-ul-Mulk's life is betrayed by the letter written by him to Muhammad Sultan. The letter, as translated by Prof. Sarkar, is as follows: "Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkunda, but before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, "I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you, but as you have not done so, I have myself come to you. Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously and, if you can manage it, lighten his neck of the burden of his head." The reader will not fail to find that the suggested text of the letter to Qutb Shah is wholly ironical. Who could have believed in such a friendly message with the enemy at the gate? In the paroxysm of his rage Aurangzeb did not desire to spare Qutb Shah, but who could say that Qutb Shah himself did not put a price on Aurangzeb's head in his fit of anger? The letter cited above frankly shows Aurangzeb's bitterness of feeling but how it can be interpreted as an act of 'treachery' we fail to see.

Aurangzeb had his reasons for personal grudge and dislike. Having caught the fly in the meshes, he had no intention to let it go. Qutb Shah was a sore in his eyes. He was an apostate and an ally of the King of Persia. He must be removed and his kingdom annexed. Aurangzeb thus brought his whole persuasive power into play to further this project. He tried to exploit the religious zeal and cupidity of Shahjahan ; but was he really serious on those grounds ? Did he desire to seize a rich country for the sake of greed and destroy a Shiah kingdom for the sake of bigotry ? Without underrating the fact that owing to traditional enmity between the Deccan kings and the Delhi emperors, the Deccan States might have, perhaps, ultimately passed into Mughal hands without an Aurangzeb the personal element in the quarrel between Qutb Shah and Aurangzeb must be emphasised. Aurangzeb was determined to let people know the consequences of his displeasure, and his frantic appeal to Shahjahan for the annexation of Golkunda and his attempted exploitation of the emperor's sectarianism was a counter-move against Dara's pleadings.

Aurangzeb goes to Haidarabad.

Though Qutb Shah had repeatedly asked for peace, and sent costly presents, yet he was all the time, putting the Golkunda fort in a state of defence, and he made urgent appeals to Adil Shah for his help and succour.[31] When Aurangzeb arrived at Haidarabad on the 6th of February, the Golkunda force, 15,000 strong, came out and exchanged shots with the Mughal army. The fort battery also fired at the Mughals. A desultory fight was kept up till late in the evening when the Deccanis retired from the field. Aurangzeb, who at this stage expected nothing but submission from the Sultan,

31 Both Waris (232) and *Maasirul-Umara* (Vol. III, p. 532) affirm in identical terms that Qutb-ul-Mulk repeatedly asked for peace, though at the same time he was appealing frantically to Bijapur for help.

became enraged at the opening of fresh hostilities and laid siege to the Golkunda fort, which dragged on from the 7th of February till the 30th of March. Hard pressed by Aurangzeb's army, Qutb Shah implored Dara to use his influence for the conclusion of peace.

The Peace Terms.

Dara did plead with the Emperor and secured the settlement of the dispute on the payment of an indemnity. Shahjahan sent a *firman* to Aurangzeb recording the settlement on the 8th of February. This reached him on the 24th, but he withheld the Emperor's letters on purpose. In fact, Shahjahan had given him complete liberty as to the despatch of the *firman* to Qutb Shah. In a letter to Saadullah Khan he writes, "As the Emperor had made me independent in the matter of sending the *firman* to Qutb Shah, and as things here had changed in the meantime, for the sake of expediency, I did not make it public." [32] His position had become strong at Golkunda and he did not want to conclude an untimely peace. Though Dara's move piqued him, he played his own game by suppressing the letter and tried to squeeze a huge indemnity from Qutb-ul-Mulk, and Shahjahan approved of the device. Aurangzeb, however, concluded peace with Golkunda on the payment of an indemnity of one karor of rupees and arrears of tribute and the marriage of Muhammad Sultan with Qutb Shah's daughter.

Aurangzeb leaves Golkunda.

Though there was nothing left to be done, yet Aurangzeb was still encamped round Golkunda. As previously noticed, Shahjahan had asked Aurangzeb and Muhammad Sultan to wait at Haidarabad till the arrival of Mir Jumla. The Mir arrived at Golkunda on the 20th of March and the Mughal Army left the place on the 30th of the same month.

32 *Adab*, 137-b.

Manucci rightly asserts that, through the interference of Dara and Jahanara Begam, Shahjahan ordered Aurangzeb to raise the siege of Golkunda. Dara was afraid that "by acquiring possession of Golkunda he (*i. e.*, Aurangzeb) would become more powerful than before, thus making it easier for him to lay claim to the throne of Hindustan." [33] From the very first Aurangzeb had a certain misgiving as regards Shahjahan's possible attitude as revealed in the letter on page 284. He feared lest the Emperor, later on beguiled by Dara's misrepresentations and Qutb Shah's presents, should suddenly change his mind and put the whole blame on his shoulders. That his misgivings were later proved not to be baseless, perhaps, was no surprise to him. For the sake of his own prestige, however, Aurangzeb pressed the campaign and brought it to a successful end.

Shahjahan's unjustified conduct.

Shahjahan's animosity cannot be better illustrated than by his treatment of Aurangzeb after the Golkunda war. In the beginning of the campaign, it was settled between Shahjahan and Aurangzeb that all elephants and jewels secured from Qutb Shah should be sent to the Emperor, while the cash should be appropriated by Aurangzeb. On the basis of the above settlement Aurangzeb borrowed 20 lacs of rupees to defray the expenses of the war. The successful termination of the campaign made Dara extremely jealous, and he told Shahjahan that Aurangzeb had acquired untold wealth of which he had given no account. The Emperor readily accepted Dara's story and wrote to Aurangzeb not only to send jewels and elephants but the cash as well. Shahjahan openly accused Aurangzeb of misappropriating the presents received from Golkunda. Shahjahan's displeasure became the talk of camps and towns, much to the disgust of Aurangzeb. The Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur openly taunted Aurangzeb's agents about the scandal. (*Adab*). But Aurangzeb was utterly helpless.

33 Manucci, I, 235-236; Bernier (2nd edition), p. 21.

Though peace had been made with Golkunda, yet there was one dispute that was still unsettled, namely, the question of the Karnatak.[34] As the country was conquered by Mir Jumla for Qutb Shah, both of them claimed it as his own territory. Before dealing with Shahjahan's decision, to whom the case was referred, an account of the Raja of the Karnatak will be pertinent.

The Karnatak.

As both the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur were anxious to make territorial conquests, they found a free play for their arms in the South. The Karnatak then belonged to a descendant of Ram Raja of Vijayanagar fame. Sri Ranga Rayal, the Zamindar of the Karnatak, hemmed in by the two invading armies, had requested Aurangzeb's help; but the latter, for some reasons, could not then see his way to accede to Sri Ranga's request. Later on, when the Zamindar was hard-pressed by the two aggressive powers, he appealed again to Aurangzeb. Not only did he promise to pay an annual tribute, but he showed also his readiness to accept Islam, if only his territory could be saved from the Deccani Sultans.

Aurangzeb writes to Shahjahan, "Sri Ranga Rayal, the grandson of Ram Raja, the distinguished Zamindar of the Karnatak, has sent me a petition to the effect that during the last few years Adil Khan and Qutb-ul-Mulk have despoiled him of his territory and seized his elephants and jewels and are determined to oust him from his hereditary country. Ranga Rayal implores help and begs that his territory should be annexed to the imperial dominions, and

The Raja ready to accept Islam.

34 In the 16th century the territory between the Krishna and the Kaveri was called the Karnatak.

firmans should be sent to the Deccanis that they should not interfere with his hereditary territory. In consideration of this he is ready to offer fifty lacs of *hun* yearly with jewels and elephants, and if, owing to his infidelity the helping hand of Your Majesty be withheld from him, he is ready to accept Islam." [35] It seems that the Zamindar had also sent a messenger to Shahjahan, who, in response to Rayal's importunities, had drafted *firmans* to the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur to stay their aggressive hands from the Zamindar's territory. Shahjahan writes, "Two and a half years before this Rana Rao had come to me and represented himself as the agent of the Zamindar, but as his statement appeared false and unreliable, I postponed the despatch of the *firman*. If it is the same man who has presented himself before you, his words are unacceptable."

Aurangzeb then wrote to Shahjahan, "Many times before this Rana Rao made representations in similar terms to me, but as then he appeared to me unreliable, I did not think it worth while to report the matter to Your Majesty. Now since the Zamindar has sent Sri Nawas with a petition and some presents and is ready to accept Islam, I thought it necessary to bring the matter to your notice. As ordered by Your Majesty I shall send Abdul Mabud to the Karnatak to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot and form an opinion as to the veracity of his statement." [36]

Shahjahan's dubious attitude.

When Aurangzeb sent an officer to the Karnatak, to his surprise, it did not meet with Shahjahan's approval. Aurangzeb writes, "Your Majesty has written that the sending of an officer to the Karnatak was not advisable, and

35 *Adab*, 45-a. *A hun* was equal to Rs. 4.

36 *Adab*, 45-b.

that frightening the two Sultans of the Deccan, I should have secured presents from them for Your Majesty and myself. As the Raja had begged for Your Majesty's protection by sending presents and promised to accept Islam, and as the rulers of the Deccan had failed to present to Your Majesty any part of the treasures and booty that they had secured in the Karnatak, I reported the real facts to the victorious Court. When I received Your Majesty's order to send someone to the Karnatak to make enquiries, I knew for certain that the rulers of the Deccan, especially Adil Khan, would do their best to oppose the Raja's offer. Adil Khan has captured Vellore and is trying to seize those elephants which the Raja wanted to present to Your Majesty. Unless *firmans* are sent to the rulers of the Deccan informing them that Your Majesty's kindness is directed towards the Zamindar, they will never send presents."[37]

Aurangzeb alarms the two Sultans.

Shahjahan had at first advised Aurangzeb to send some officer to the Karnatak, but the Emperor soon changed his mind and his only concern now was to get presents from the Sultans. The Emperor's attitude was incomprehensible to Aurangzeb who, however, had to adopt the desired method of exacting presents. He was willing to help the Raja this time, but his plan had not the approval of Shahjahan. Then he changed his tactics and wrote to the Emperor that, unless the Raja were taken under the imperial protection, the Sultans would not send him presents. In accordance with this plan, Aurangzeb sent Muhammad Momin to the Karnatak, to make enquiries about the veracity of the Raja's statements. This alarmed the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda, who now tried to buy off the Emperor's interference in this matter. Aurangzeb writes, "Qutb-ul-Mulk has become alarmed at the appointment of Muhammad

37 *Adab*, 46-a.

Momin and wants to hinder his departure to the Karnatak. I have written to my envoy that he should inform Qutb-ul-Mulk of my instructions and warn him to desist from his evil intentions. Your Majesty has written that Adil Khan is ready to send presents to me in order that no help should be given to the Zamindar of the Karnatak........... Before receiving your august *firman*, I wrote to Adil Khan, that if he would send acceptable presents, I would make recommendations to the Emperor in his favour.................. I hope that this intention, which is so distressing to the *Dunya-daran-i-Dakhin*, waking them up from their dreams, will, with little attention from Your Majesty, soon bear its fruit, and that whatever they have obtained from the Karnatak and kept concealed, they would submit to the Government. If Your Majesty will send a *firman* to Adil Khan, this matter will be soon settled."

Shahjahan's fickleness: Aurangzeb in no way to blame.

It seems that Adil Khan had written to Aurangzeb and Shahjahan simultaneously to secure their non-interference in the case of Sri Ranga; and though Aurangzeb on his part was willing to help the Raja, Shahjahan's decision was final and the Raja was left to his fate. Sri Ranga's helplessness has provoked a severe comment. "Aurangzeb's treatment of the Raja of the Karnatak and his cynical avowal of his utterly sordid motives throughout the transaction, has deep political significance. To the historian whose eyes are not dazzled by the Peacock Throne and the Taj Mahal, and other examples of outward glitter, this episode (with many others of the same kind) proves that the Mughal empire was a thinly veiled system of brigandage." [38]

We have fully quoted Aurangzeb's letters from which it is abundantly clear that it was Shahjahan who was unwilling to help the Raja, and Aurangzeb had but to obey

38 Sarkar, I, 251.

the royal orders. If any one is to be blamed for 'utterly sordid motives,' it is Shahjahan. We, however, find that both the Zamindar of the Karnatak and Adil Shah were competing against each other for imperial favours. Apparently, both from financial and religious points of view, the Raja's offer was most tempting, as he was willing not only to pay 50 lacs of *huns* (two karors of rupees) yearly, but he was also ready to accept Islam. Shahjahan must have had strong reasons for refusing the Raja's offer, particularly when Bijapur was making only empty promises. If the Emperor refused to extend his protection to the Raja of the Karnatak, and sought compensation elsewhere, the considerations of expediency can be justifiably pleaded; alliances are formed and dissolved in terms of calculated gain and not on the basis of shifting sentiments. Conquest and greed of wealth and power have been the passion of all rulers from the dawn of history, and the Mughals were not the worst sinners. Imperialism is in essence nothing but a 'veiled brigandage,' and, in the story of Alexander and the robber, the political moralist will find some illuminating element of truth.

Qutb Shah seeks Dara's help.

Mir Jumla had conquered a considerable portion of the Raja's territory and, when he quarrelled with Qutb Shah, he appropriated the entire country as his personal *jagir*.

After the conclusion of peace, Qutb Shah naturally wanted to retain that part of the country which, though conquered and consolidated by his prime minister, was legally his. Aurangzeb seems to have given some hope or assurance to Qutb Shah about the restoration of the Karnatak, for in one of the letters preserved in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, we find Mir Jumla complaining to Aurangzeb in a restrained way about his dubious attitude on the question. Aurangzeb referred the matter to the Emperor,

and advised Qutb Shah to wait for the royal decision; but the Sultan again had recourse to his previous methods and begged Dara to present a petition to the Emperor on his behalf for the restoration of his territory. Shahjahan read the petition but deferred his decision until Mir Jumla's arrival.

The duplicity of Qutb Shah offends Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb writes to Qutb Shah, "Though all my attention has been directed to the restoration of the Karnatak to you, yet since I hear from my agent that Mulla Abdul Samad, your representative at Court, has presented a petition to the Emperor through the mediation of the eldest Prince (Dara) for the grant of the said province, and that the Emperor refused to decide the case till the arrival of Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla), and as it was done in spite of the fact that your papers were sent to me through my own agent and I had written my recommendation on them, it has grieved and wounded my feelings. As Mulla Abdul Samad is hanging about the eldest Prince, and the members of his entourage and so far has not paid any attention to my agent, therefore I have returned these papers to Sayyid Hasan, your local agent, so that they may be forwarded to Mulla Abdul Samad and that there might be no hindrance to the achievement of your purpose."[39]

Mir Jumla arrived at Delhi in due time and won the case in his own favour. Who could blame Aurangzeb if, after the above incident, he brought all his influence to bear at court for the defeat of the Sultan's project? Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan and as such he had some prestige and responsibility. Besides, Aurangzeb had endorsed the petition with his own recommendation, which in view of the intimate relations between him and Mir Jumla, was extremely valuable. If Qutb Shah lost a

39 *Adab*, 78-a.

fertile and rich country, he had to thank his own foolishness. The Karnatak was annexed to the Empire, and was granted to Mir Jumla as a *jagir*, but Qutb Shah did not stop throwing obstacles in the way of the Mughal officers. He endeavoured in every way to defeat the settlement of the country. We find Aurangzeb reprimanding him for his meddlesome policy and senseless interference, but Qutb Shah must still indulge in unprofitable adventures.

Qutb Shah's mischief. Aurangzeb protests to the Emperor.

Later on, Qutb Shah began to interfere with the imperial mail, for which relays were established in the Karnatak. Aurangzeb had to write plainly to Shahjahan:—"I have written to my envoy at Golkunda that he should stop Qutb Shah from committing such acts; but the Deccanis, hearing of Your Majesty's lack of favour towards me and want of confidence in me, and exaggerating Your Majesty's criticism a thousand times, pay no heed to my writing, and, thinking that they are beyond my authority, fail to obey the orders; and even after this, I do not think they will attend to my instructions."

When Aurangzeb was conducting the operations against Bijapur, Qutb Shah saw his chance and took possession of some parts of the Karnatak. Aurangzeb wrote to him in severe language, but in the confusion of Shahjahan's illness and Aurangzeb's critical predicament, Qutb Shah occupied more territory, and it was not until after his accession to the throne that Aurangzeb could enforce his orders.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOLKUNDA. (Continued).

Events had moved fast in the Deccan while Aurangzeb was in Northern India. Sivaji was aggrandising himself at the expense of Bijapur and was daily bringing fresh territories under his domination. Qutb Shah was not only the silent spectator of these events, but rejoiced at the strangling of a neighbouring state. The State of Golkunda was hastening towards dissolution. Abdullah Qutb Shah had lost all mental energy and given himself up to sensual pleasures. "Confusion and misrule," writes Bernier, "are the natural and unavoidable consequences of this state of things. The grandees, totally disregarding the commands of a monarch for whom they no longer feel either affection or respect, exercise a disgusting tyranny, and the people, impatient to throw off the galling yoke, would gladly submit to the more equitable government of Aurangzeb."[1]

Misrule in Golkunda.

Aurangzeb, who had ascended the Mughal throne in 1657, had left the Sultan of Golkunda unmolested till 1666. After the surrender of Sivaji and the conclusion of peace between him and the Mughal, Raja Jai Singh was ordered to proceed to Bijapur and besiege the Adil Shahi capital. The Sultan of Golkunda, who had so far been spared by Aurangzeb, suddenly realized that it was his duty to come to the succour of a brother king. When Sivaji was slicing away the Bijapur territory and reducing fort after fort, Qutb Shah was perfectly quiet, but when Aurangzeb despatched Jai Singh for the collection of the tribute so long overdue, the Sultan suddenly became active and sent a detachment under Nek Nam Khan to the assistance of Bijapur. (1666).[2] Though Aurangzeb's envoy remonstrated against this provocation,

1 Bernier, 2nd edition, 194-195.
2 K. K. II, 195.

no action was then taken on that account. Abdullah died in 1672 and was succeeded by Abul Hasan his son-in-law.

Abul Hasan duped by Sivaji.

While Khan Jahan Bahadur, the new Governor of the Deccan, was engaged in suppressing the incursions of the Marathas, Sivaji secretly went to Golkunda in 1677 and exacted a large contribution from Qutb Shah.[3] Of this Khafi Khan says, "Sivaji secretly went to Haidarabad and by his fairy tales and bombastic stories so impressed Qutb Shah that he was soon deceived. Sivaji induced him to believe that if he would furnish him with an army and other equipment, he would wrest all the forts from Bijapur which formerly belonged to the Golkunda State and hand them over to his officers......................Abdullah Shah not realizing his tricky policy, trusted him with a considerable force and appointed some men to take charge of the conquered forts and urged them to obey him. With that army Sivaji started on his expedition and by his tactics and other methods succeeded in occupying several forts. Whenever he obtained possession of a fort, he would promise the officers of Abdullah Shah that he would hand over to them another and a better one, and thus kept them quiet by giving them the cash and provisions acquired from the first. In this way he went on reducing one fort after another till he got Parnalla and Sattara and several other forts which had been built by Bijapur at an expense of several lacs of rupees. After occupying the fort of Rajgadh, which was conquered by Raja Jai Singh and Dilair Khan and the key of which he had himself presented to them, and giving one or two forts to the officers of Abdullah Shah, he sent them back. It is said on reliable authority that Sivaji, coming to Haidarabad in the first or the second year of Abul Hasan's reign, made a fool of him (Abul

3 Grant Duff, I., 205.

Hasan). In short, having settled himself at Rajgadh, he again started his depredations. He raided the fort of Surat and carried away considerable booty in cash and gold and several thousand men and women, both Hindus and Musalmans. When the Emperor heard of these plunders and extortions, he appointed Dilair Khan and Khan Jahan to punish him." [4]

Madanna, the enemy of the Mughals.

Madanna Brahman, the minister of Qutb Shah, kept his master well under his thumb. He was the determined enemy of the Mughals and it was through his efforts that Sivaji exploited Qutb Shah's hatred for them. Flushed by his victories, Sivaji thought of increasing the boundaries of his dominion in the South and undertook an expedition into the Karnatak. At the end of the year 1676 he started at the head of 30,000 horse and 40,000 infantry towards Golkunda. His appearance created considerable alarm in the capital, but Madanna, who was in league with Sivaji, allayed the fears of the populace and went out to meet the Maratha chief. Later on, Sivaji had an interview with Abul Hasan with the result that Madanna agreed to pay annually one lac *hun* to Sivaji practically as a tribute, though nominally for the defence of the realm. A provision was made in the treaty for the division of the Karnatak between Sivaji and Abul Hasan. Sivaji also succeeded in obtaining a considerable supply of money and a train of artillery with its equipment. "Sivaji going over to Haidarabad settled with the Vali (Qutb Shah) that both of them, forming a combination, should fight with the Mughals and occupy their territory. He got hold of considerable cash and an army from the Vali." [5] Sivaji after a month's stay at Haidarabad started on his expedition.

4 K. K. I., 345-49.

5 *Tarikh Dilkusha*, 58.

While Sivaji was busy in the south, the Mughal commander Dilair Khan invaded Golkunda on account of the Sultan's alliance with the Marathas, but was compelled to retreat. In the meantime, Sivaji had by the end of 1677 taken possession of all the *Jagir* of his father and plundered almost the whole of the Karnatak belonging to Bijapur. But out of his late acquisitions, as agreed to by the treaty, he had not given an inch of territory to the Sultan of Golkunda.[6] Too often in the history of the world, spite and personal enmity have blinded the vision and warped the judgment of those, who for the sake of vengeance, have put aside all considerations of country and religion, and by their actions have been the tools of their own ruin. The Sultan of Golkunda perhaps did not realize that in weakening the neighbouring state of Bijapur and helping the Marathas he was planting thorns in his own pillow. Rancour and jealousy were the bane of the two States and the real cause of their extinction.

Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.

An event had happened in Northern India which had a great influence on the history of the Deccan. It was the rebellion of Prince Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, who in conjunction with the Rajputs was aiming at the Mughal throne. At the last moment he was outwitted by Aurangzeb's coolness, and he had to flee for his life from Rajputana. He went to the Deccan in 1681 and was received by Sambhaji, the son of Sivaji, who had died on the 5th of April, 1680. The arrival of Prince Akbar in the Deccan and the growing menace of the Maratha power, demanded immediate and prompt attention. Consequently, Aurangzeb began his march for the Deccan and advanced to Bijapur in the year 1683. Before he had reached his destination, he had issued a *firman* to the Sultan of Bijapur asking him to

6 Duff, Vol. I., p. 229.

join hands with the Mughal army and suppress the depredations of the Marathas. In the year 1684 he ordered Prince Muazzam to proceed with his whole army and reduce Sambhaji's southern territory, while Azam was sent to reduce his northern forts. Instead of the help he was expecting from Bijapur in crushing the common enemy, Aurangzeb found that Sultan Sikandar was secretly lending support to Sambhaji. No provisions were sent by Adil Shah, nor did any contingent arrived from Bijapur. Aurangzeb, realising his conspiracy with Sambhaji, gave orders for the conquest of Bijapur.[7]

Abul Hasan's challenge to Aurangzeb.

Abul Hasan, on his part, had given active support to Sambhaji by presenting him with one lac of gold coin.[8] When Aurangzeb became convinced that the suppression of the Marathas was impossible without reducing the two Deccani States, he made preparations for their conquest. Bijapur was the first to be invaded. Abul Hasan wrote to his envoy who was in Aurangzeb's camp, "Believing that Sikandar was weak and an orphan, he (Aurangzeb) has laid siege to Bijapur and driven him into a corner. Now it is time that Raja Sambha, with his innumerable men, should come to the succour of Bijapur from one side and I would despatch Khalil-ullah Khan with forty thousand men from the other side. Then I shall see which side he (Aurangzeb) would attend to."[9] This letter fell into Aurangzeb's hands and he gave the order for the invasion of Haidarabad.

Before we deal with the fall of Golkunda, it is necessary to describe the state and condition of the country and its ruler. Abul Hasan, a distant relation of the late Qutb Shah and his son-in-law, had from his very childhood lived a debauched life. When he came to the throne, he could not

7 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 405.

8 Khafi Khan, Vol. II., 293.

9 *Ma'asirul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 627-628

shake off his old habits and his whole time was absorbed in senseless gaiety and careless merriment. The affairs of the state naturally suffered and confusion and chaos reigned supreme. The matter was brought to a head by the appointment of Madanna Brahman as chief minister. He wielded a tremendous sway over his master, the Sultan, and was for all practical purposes the sole administrator of the State, Abul Hasan being quite content with the pageantry of royalty.

Ruinous policy of Madanna.

Madanna Brahman was the person responsible for the injudicious and unprofitable alliance of Abul Hasan with Sivaji, when the latter was starting on his new adventure of the conquest of the Karnatak belonging to Bijapur. By exploiting the prejudices of the Deccanis against the Mughals, he intrigued and leagued himself with Sivaji and the Marathas, and unnecessarily brought troubles on the Golkunda State. The Musalmans were smarting under his authority and were thoroughly disgusted with him. All the Muslim historians rightly hold him responsible for the fall of Golkunda and mention his name in the most scathing terms. "The government of the State," writes one historian, "went into the hands of the two brothers Madanna and Akana, who were the roots of all evil and the causes of the fall of the State. When Madanna came to power, the influence of Islam was much weakened. As Abul Hasan was sunk in debauchery and cared nothing for his country, Madanna became so powerful that he built a new temple outside the city. One Hindu festival day, riding on horseback with his brother and taking all the Sayyids and the gentry of the place, he told them that their ancestors broke idols, but now it was his turn to take them with him in that fashion (to the idols). It is said that on that day tears flowed like a river from the eyes of the Sayyids."[10]

10 *Hadaiqul-Alam*, p. 200.

A somewhat extensive quotation from Khafi Khan will give us an insight into the causes which impelled Alamgir to the invasion of Golkunda. "Intelligence was brought to His Majesty that through Abul Hasan's disgusting conduct in giving over the administration to Madanna and Akanna, the two revengeful infidels, Musalmans were tyrannised, and drinking and lewdness were openly indulged in. Besides, he (Abul Hasan) had made himself obnoxious by giving help to Sambhaji in his depredations and offering him one lac *hun* in cash. At this time Mir Hashim, the son of Sayyid Muzaffar,[11] who was a noble of Abul Hasan's court, and through whose efforts he had gained the throne, but who was dismissed and the ministership granted to Madanna and Akanna, arrived at the royal camp. Through the good offices of the courtiers, by way of redress, he prompted the undertaking of, and offered his guidance for, the invasion of Haidarabad and for the release of his father Sayyid Muzaffar who was in prison. Later on, as it was reported to His Majesty that some districts of Seiram and Ramgir of the province of Zafarnagar were taken possession of by Abul Hassan's officers, he gave orders for the conquest of Haidarabad."[12]

His tyranny towards the Muslims.

"I will tell of a matter which happened in Golkunda during the reign of Abul Hasan when his great minister, Madanna, was in power. It chanced in his time that a Persian was washing his face on the banks of the river. While he was there, a Hindu came and, close to him, began to wash a cloth with such

An example of his cruelty and injustice.

11 Sayyid Muzaffar was the general of Abdullah Qutb Shah It was solely through his effort that Abdul Hasan secured the Kingdom ; consequently the was made the Prime Minister. Madanna was in the employment of Muzaffar but the former put his benefactor in prison and himself became the Vazir.

12 Khafi Khan, Vol. II., 293.

rashness and inattention that the water splashed over him. Anxious to keep himself clean (for the water sent over him by the Hindu was dirtying him), he asked the man civilly to find another place. Instead of paying heed, the rude Hindu replied with abuse, and made as if to strike him. The Persian lost patience and gave him a slap, whereby arose a great tumult. Many Hindus arrived, seized him, gave him many blows, bound him and carried him to the presence of the minister Madanna. The Minister's sentence was that the hand of the Persian with which the blow had been given should be cut off. The order was forthwith executed."

"Finding that neither the Government nor the Courts were in the hands of the Mohammedans, but in those of the Hindus, the Persian said nothing but resorted to the Court of Aurangzeb. There he showed the mutilated arm and in a loud voice ejaculated that God had made him (Aurangzeb) King to redress injustice. Repeatedly he made the same complaint and in the end Aurangzeb ordered some money to be disbursed to him for his support. He was told to be patient. When Aurangzeb tried conclusions with the King of Golkunda, the crimes he alleged were these: high-handedness, oppression, permitting public drinking-shops, women of evil life, and gambling houses, appointing Hindu Governors, maintaining temples and not allowing to Mohammedans that free liberty which they were entitled to. Therefore God had made him (Aurangzeb) King for the suppression of all these disorders allowed by Abul Hasan."[13] Writing about Madanna and Akanna, Orme says, "their rule was insolent, mean and avaricious." (*Fragments*, 147.)

Disorder and debauchery in Golkunda

Though Tavernier's account of the public women of Golkunda relates to an earlier period, conditions had become worse at the time of Aurangzeb's invasion. Writes Tavernier, "There are so

[13] Storia, III., pp. 131-132.

great a number of common women as well in the city as in the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another city, that there are generally above twenty thousand set down in the Darogha's book......... This King has a considerable revenue by the impost which he lays upon *tari* (palm-juice). And for that reason he permits so many common women; in regard, it is for their sake that so much *tari* is consumed; those that sell it for that cause keeping their shops by those houses (*i.e.*, of the public women)."[14]

A criticism of Khafi Khan.

How far the story, as related by Khafi Khan, (II, 294) of Aurangzeb, in sending an envoy to Abul Hasan and giving the former secret instructions to insult the Sultan on the plea of demanding a certain jewel and thus bring about a *casus belli* bears the stamp of genuineness; is a matter of critical judgment.

There was no reason for Aurangzeb to seek out a false plea for attacking Golkunda when he had an obvious and just cause for invading the State. Had Aurangzeb been afflicted with insatiable passion for fresh conquests, he could have extinguished the kingdom much earlier. But for full thirty years after his accession, Aurangzeb did not interfere in the affairs of Golkunda. It was only when he found that the two Deccani States were bent on helping the Marathas that he decided to make an end of their existence. This fact is frankly recognised by the author of the *Ma'asir-ul Umara* (III. 627). Khafi Khan's account is a pure myth.[15] Aurangzeb's sincerity cannot be better proved than by his anxiety to avoid extreme measures even before the commencement of the attack on Golkunda.

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14 *Tavernier's Travels*, (Bangbasi office), 128-129.

15 Sir Jadunath Sarkar has readily believed Khafi Khan's story (iv, 336-338). It is a curious fact that every distasteful incident condemnatory of Aurangzeb is easily accepted without submitting it to any critical test. Khafi Khan is often unable to abandon his bias against Aurangzeb.

During the siege of Bijapur, as previously related, Qutb Shah had given active help to the Sultan, and, in spite of repeated orders, did not desist from provoking the Mughals. In accordance with the orders, therefore, Khan Jahan and Shah Alam advanced towards Haidarabad and were opposed by the Golkunda army under Ibrahim Khan, in 1685 A.D. But before launching an attack, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, Shah Alam sent a message to Ibrahim Khan that "if Abul Hasan, dismissing the two Brahman brothers, would put them in confinement, and hand over the occupied Mughal districts of Siram and Ramgir to the imperial officers and pay the arrears of his tribute, he would intervene on his behalf. But the foolish Deccani nobles through pique and vanity, returning an unmerited reply, did not try to ward off the imperial wrath, till at last the matter came to a clash of arms."[16] A battle raged for three days, but the Deccanis gave up the struggle in the end and Ibrahim Khan fled to Haidarabad. Raja Man Singh and Sa'adat Khan advised the quick pursuit of the enemy, but Shah Alam and Khan Jahan did not think it expedient, and, camping at a place, sent the message of victory to the Emperor.[17] When Aurangzeb heard of the inactivity of his son and of Khan Jahan he was enraged at their supineness and wrote a sharp letter of rebuke.

Sultan Muazzam invades Golkunda.

For Shah Alam Aurangzeb had not much affection. A Hindu officer, who was with the Mughal army for a long time in Southern India, writes in his journal under the year 1667: "This year the Princess (Shah Alam's mother) came to the Deccan on visit to her son, by the Emperor's orders, to advise him to continue firm in his allegiance; some

Aurangzeb suspects his son's loyalty.

16 K. K. Volume II, p. 296.

17 K. K. Volume II, p. 299.

suspicions having arisen that he meditated independence."[18] Shah Alam's failure in not pursuing the Golkunda army widened the breach and further alienated Aurangzeb's affection. He was disgusted with Khan Jahan as well, for many reasons. In the first place, this officer could not control his men, who were tyrannising the people; and then he had failed to arrest Prince Akbar when the occasion had presented itself. For these reasons and for his conduct in other respects, Aurangzeb was not favourably disposed towards him either.[19]

After its flight Abul Hasan's army did not appear for sometime in the open field, but kept harassing the Mughals by spasmodic raids. Shah Alam and Khan Jahan, becoming dispirited on account of royal disfavour, made no attempt to punish them for these incursions. Aurangzeb got furious at their behaviour and with his own hand he wrote a very strong letter of censure and reproof. Shah Alam again, before moving from his place, wrote to Muhammad Ibrahim, the Golkunda commander, that if he would return the districts of Siram and Khir and other frontier towns, even at that last moment, he would work for peace, but the reply came "that Siram could never be surrendered."[20] With the refusal of the overture, the Mughal army started the battle which ended in the flight of the Deccanis.

Sultan Muazzam makes peace.

The Mughal army was now marching towards Haidarabad, but, before it reached there, Abul Hasan had left the capital for the fort of Golkunda and the city was looted and plundered by the ruffians of the town. Abul Hasan now begged for peace and made repeated entreaties for pardon and forgiveness. In October, 1685, Aurangzeb concluded peace on the

18 Scott, Volume II, p. 22.

19 Khafi, Volume II, p. 299.

20 Khafi, Volume II, p. 302.

condition of receiving one karor and 20 lacs of rupees as an indemnity, over and above the annual tribute, the surrender of Siram and Khir and the dismissal of the two Brahman brothers who were the causes of all the mischief and trouble. As Abul Hasan was reluctant to part with the two brothers whom very few had a liking for, some of his officers took them by surprise and murdered them and sent their heads to Shah Alam.[21] The Mughals then evacuated the Golkunda territory in May, 1686.

Aurangzeb and his secret instructions.

After the fall of Bijapur, Aurangzeb marched to Golburga and from there he sent letters to Sa'adat Khan, his envoy at Golkunda, with regard to the early collection of the indemnity and the annual tribute. At the same time, it is said, he gave Sa'adat Khan secret instructions to exact as much money as possible from Abul Hasan, as he was soon going to invade Haidarabad. Khafi Khan himself gives the main causes of the conquest of Haidarabad, but he cannot help introducing 'secret' instructions in his narratives.

Let us examine Aurangzeb's 'secret' order to Sa'adat Khan, known as Muhammad Murad. Khafi Khan writes, "He (Aurangzeb) marched towards Gulbarga and sent letters to Abul Hasan and Sa'adat Khan for the delivery of the *peshkash* (tribute) and secretly ordered Sa'adat Khan, that, since he had determined to annex Haidarabad and would be soon marching in that direction, he should make his best endeavour to obtain the money. Sa'adat Khan, assuring Abul Hasan of His Majesty's kindness, made pressing demands for the payment of the tribute. Abul Hasan, expecting non-interference, stressed his obedience and loyalty and, expressing his inability to pay cash,

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21 Khafi, II, p. 308. Compare Sark[illegible] .. p. 351. "The Dowager Sultana now sent the heads of the ob[illegible]us ministers to Aurangzeb *as the best of peace offerings*." The ite[illegible] are mine,

wrote to Sa'adat Khan that instead of demanding cash he should send a *Khawja-sara* of tender years inside the palace who would be allowed to remove all ornaments and jewels from the persons of the ladies of the harem. Sa'adat Khan refused to adopt such a course. After a few days, when the arrival of the Emperor at Gulbarga became known, and Abul Hasan was between hope and fear, summoning the envoy, he sent nine sealed packets of jewels and precious stones and asked the envoy to keep them in his house as a deposit, and further added that in two or three days he would remit whatever cash he might manage to secure...... ... Next day Abul Hasan sent some baskets of fruit and spices for the Emperor and Sa'adat Khan added a few more on his behalf. A day or two after, when the news of Aurangzeb's invasion of Golkunda became persistent, he sent a message to Sa'adat Khan stating that his idea in presenting jewels was to invoke the Emperor's forgiveness. Now since he had received alarming news, he (*i. e.*, the envoy) should return those packets. Sa'adat Khan replied that since he had no news of the Emperor's intended march towards Golkunda, he had sent those packets to His Majesty with the baskets of fruit. Abul Hasan then besieged the envoy's house."[22]

The above letter clearly shows: (1) that Aurangzeb sent a reminder to Abul Hasan for the immediate payment of the tribute; (2) that Abul Hasan sent nine packets of jewels as an earnest; (3) that Sa'adat Khan forwarded the same to Aurangzeb.

Khafi Khan's account criticised.

Now if Abul Hasan's jewels did reach Aurangzeb, then the latter could have known the Sultan's anxiety to redeem his promises; but we find that those nine packets were never sent to the Emperor. Khafi Khan at another

22 Khafi II, p. 323-324.

place writes, "Sa'adat Khan *alias* Muhammad Murad, having pity on Abul Hasan, did not wish to invite further the Emperor's wrath on him and concealed two or three cases in which Abul Hasan had acted against the wishes of His Majesty. One of these was the *despatch of a considerable sum to Sambha, which news His Majesty had heard from an outside source and about which Sa'adat Khan had sent no information.* When he came to Court after the conquest of Golkunda, his conduct was criticised by His Majesty, his rank was lowered, he was deprived of his title and he was asked to pay Rs. 80,000 that he had received from the Government during his stay at Golkunda............He (*i. e.* Sa'adat Khan) had tried to submit to the keepers of State Jewellery the nine packets of jewels, worth ten lacs of rupees, which he had taken from Abul Hasan and *which he had kept with him*, but those keepers refused to take them without permission and without any document of the department, and Muhammad Murad could not take any objection to their attitude. *Thus a whole year passed.* At last the keepers of the State Jewellery reported to His Majesty that *Muhammad Murad wanted to submit nine packets which did not bear the marks of seal and which had no voucher from Abul Hasan's men.* His Majesty then remarked that he had no suspicion of embezzlement against Muhammad Murad."[23] Khafi Khan records the despatch of the jewels at one place while the description at another place suggests that the envoy had kept them with him. Not only were the packets not sent to Aurangzeb, but no report was even made to him of the jewels for a whole year. Though the envoy's house was besieged for two days, yet the latter never thought of even reporting the consequences of secret instructions ; for several months, Aurangzeb was encamped at Golkunda, yet the jewels were never delivered to him. The story of secret instructions is not worthy of credit.

23 Khafi II., pp. 373-374.

Why was Golkunda annexed?

After the conclusion of peace with Golkunda in October, 1685, and the murder of Madanna in March, 1686, Aurangzeb expected that Abul Hasan would have sense enough to desist from courting the friendship of and helping the Marathas. But this was a vain hope. We find that soon after the treaty, Abul Hasan secretly sent a large amount of money to Sambhaji. Many well-wishers of Golkunda were anxious to help Abul Hasan in all possible ways, so much so that even the Mughal envoy withheld the above news from Aurangzeb who, however, learnt of it from an outside source.[24] Though Abul Hasan pretended that he had not enough money to pay the Mughals, and tried to excite the public sympathy by asking the envoy to remove the jewels from the persons of the ladies, he found cash enough for Sambhaji.

Though in his narrative of the conquest of Haidarabad, Khafi Khan has described Aurangzeb's march from Bijapur to Gulbarga, and from the latter place to Golkunda, he omitted to give any reason for the sudden attack on Abul Hasan.[25] The impression is naturally created that Aurangzeb wantonly broke the treaty with the Sultan. But in his account of Sa'adat Khan, the Mughal envoy, the author, however, incidentally gave the reason for Aurangzeb's sudden march on Golkunda, namely Abul Hasan's intrigue with the Marathas—the true cause of the extinction of the Qutb Shahi kingdom.

Aurangzeb's charges against Abul Hasan.

Aurangzeb moved towards Golkunda where he arrived about the end of January, 1687. The siege of Golkunda was protracted, as there was disunity among the Mughal officers. In spite of their attachment to imperial interests,

24 K. K. II., 373-374.

25 *The History of Aurangzeb* is also silent on the point.

the Shia nobles of Aurangzeb's Court could not but feel intense sorrow at the impending fall of a Shia kingdom, a calamity which they tried to avert. Their feelings were quite natural ; but the days of Golkunda were numbered, and Aurangzeb was immovable in his determination. Abul Hasan had begged for mercy; but Aurangzeb was not to be deflected from his resolve. He wrote to Abul Hasan, "Your sins are beyond description. You surrendered the administration of your country to the infidel (*i. e.*, Madanna) and helped him in tyrannizing over Sayyids, *Mashaikhs* and learned men. Night and day you were immersed in wine; and you introduced all kinds of wickedness. You did not distinguish between *kufr* (infidelity) and Islam, and between tyranny and justice. You persisted in helping the infidels (*i. e.*, the Marathas).........and though *firmans* full of advice were repeatedly sent to you, you paid no heed to them. On the contrary, you recently sent one lac of *hun* (4 lacs of rupees) to the wicked Sambha. Unmindful of your iniquities, you expect goodness in both the worlds. What an illusion!"[26]

Conceit of Generals.

Abul Hasan had no alternative left but to prepare for defence. But such was Abul Hasan's vanity that he asked his generals to bring the Emperor alive and treat him with respect in case of his capture; and such was the conceit of the doughty Deccanis that, in reply to the parting advice of their master, they told him that as their heart was sore against Alamgir, they should be deemed incapable of showing any consideration for the fallen foe.[27]

The attack on Golkunda was pressed, but without much success. It was suspected that Shah Alam, who was in charge of the right flank of the invading army, was

26 K. K. II, 328.
27 K. K. II, 328-329.

showing indifference, and was in secret communication with Abul Hasan. He was, therefore, imprisoned with his sons and his favourite wife, Nur-un-Nisa Begam.[28]

The Mughal army, forming a ring round the Golkunda fort, was much harassed by the Deccanis, and it would have taken a very long time for the capitulation of the citadel. But treachery did its work. An Afghan soldier, who was a very high officer in the fort, secretly introduced the Mughals through the postern gate, and soon after the imperialists struck up the music of victory announcing the fall of Golkunda.

Abul Hasan's dignity.

In the early morning of 21st September, 1687, when the victors were yelling tumultuous exclamations, when the ladies of the harem were shouting heart-rending lamentations, when men and women were running away like frightened hares, in the audience-chamber of the palace, there sat a man calm, erect, and dignified. This was Abul Hasan, the last of the Qutb Shahi Kings. As the victors filed into the chamber, he was the first to greet them with the salutation, 'peace be on you.' He conversed with them with great affability and dignity, and took his morning meal at the usual time. He then mounted his horse and left the fort, leaving behind him the infamies and glories of Golkunda.

When Abul Hasan came outside the gate, he was received by Prince Azam. The fallen king took the string of pearls that he was wearing and put it round Azam's neck. He was later received by Aurangzeb who treated him with great consideration, and, granting him a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, had him lodged in the fortress of Daulatabad.

Though Abul Hasan had lived a life of luxurious ease and revolting sensuality, and throughout his career did not

28 Ibid, 330-331.

exhibit the least sign of mental vigour, in the darkest hour of his trial, he proved himself a man. By his dignity and fortitude in facing adversity he truly behaved like a king.

Abdul Razzaq's heroism.

Abul Hasan was not the only man who staggered his captors by his stoic calmness. The heroic feats of arms and prodigies of valour performed by Abdul Razzaq Lari excited the admiration of friend and foe alike. When the Mughals crowded into the fort, the heroic Abdul Razzaq, burning with a desire to sacrifice his life for his king, seized his sword and rushed on his enemies. Though surrounded by a ring of burnished swords and flashing lances, his body pierced with no less then seventy wounds, his one eye damaged, he cut down many a Mughal soldier until he lost his consciousness and fell down from his horse. When he was picked up—life still lingering in him—a high Mughal officer wanted to cut off his head and hang it on the gate of the fort but Ruhallah Khan objected that to cut off a man's head without royal order was improper. "A report," writes Khafi Khan, "was then made to the Emperor, and when he heard of the extreme courage, bravery, and heroic loyalty of the wounded man, actuated by justice and admiration he sent his own surgeons for treatment, and ordered daily bulletins to be brought to him. Summoning Ruhullah Khan, the Emperor told him that, had Abul Hasan had one more man with him as loyal as Abul Razzaq, the surrender of the fort would have taken a much longer time."

Aurangzeb's chivalrous conduct.

"After thirteen days, when Abdul Razzaq opened his eyes and stammered a few words, the Emperor sent a message announcing his pardon and promising the grant of a *mansab* to his sons. The Emperor also desired that the sons should bring a request of submission and forgiveness on

behalf of their father when he would grant him (Abdul Razzaq) a *mansab* and bestow other kindnesses on him. On the delivery of the gracious message full of unbounded favour, the brave man thanked the Emperor for the consideration shown to him and remarked that in the first place he had no hope of survival, but if God did grant him life, he regretted that, for a man who had eaten the salt of Abul Hasan, it was impossible for him to accept the service of Alamgir. When Aurangzeb was informed of the reply, his face betrayed a slight sign of grief, but out of justice he expressed his admiration, and ordered that a report should be made to him after Abdul Razzaq's complete recovery. Though much of Abdul Razzaq's property was looted, what was left was granted back to him by the Emperor." [29] The glorious deeds of Abdul Razzaq and the chivalrous conduct of Aurangzeb shed a lustre on both the victor and the vanquished.

29. K. K. II, 366-367.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DECCAN: BIJAPUR.

Strained relations between Delhi and Deccan States.

The attitude of the Mughal Emperors towards the Deccan States had been uniform throughout. The relations between the two were, more or less, always strained and, considering the age-long conflict between the North and the South, it has been previously remarked that the entire Deccan might have ultimately passed into Mughal hands without an Aurangzeb.

In Chapter XII, we have related how Akbar began his conquest of the Deccan, and how Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar passed into Mughal hands. When Jahangir came to the throne, he had to reckon with one of the ablest men of his time. Malik Ambar, one of the chief nobles of the Nizam-Shahi Kings, had risen to a position of great influence and power, and wielded considerable authority in the country. The death of Akbar, the accession of Jahangir, and the rebellion of Khusrau (Jahangir's son) gave him a respite from Mughal interventions and afforded him leisure to regulate his country. On the fall of Ahmadnagar he transferred his capital to Khadki or the rocky town, and raised to the throne a scion of the reigning family, under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah. [1] He concluded an alliance with Bijapur and Golkunda, and considerably strengthened his position. Jahangir sent Parvez to the Deccan, but the latter failed to achieve any success. Khan-i-Khanan (Abdurrahim) was then put in command, and he was partially successful in retrieving the prestige of the Mughal arms. He was, however, recalled, and Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was appointed in his place. Negotiations for peace were soon opened and

1 *History of Jahangir*, 259.

the Prince sent high officers to Malik Ambar and to Adil Shah "with a definite offer of peace on payment of *tribute* and restoration of the lost territory."[2] By the terms of the treaty the territory of Balaghat, recently occupied by Malik Ambar, was restored to the Mughals, and the keys of the fort of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds were formally delivered to them. On Shahjahan's request, Jahangir granted the title of *farzand* (son) to Adil Khan, (1617 A. D.).

After the return of Shahjahan to Northern India, Malik Ambar violated the treaty in 1620, collected a large army, occupied Berar and Ahmadnagar, laid siege to Burhanpur, crossed the Narbada and plundered the environs of Mandu. Jahangir sent Shahjahan to the Deccan, and the latter made a hurried march for the relief of Burhanpur. The Deccanis raised the siege, and the Mughals were marching for the relief of Ahmadnagar, when Malik Ambar began negotiations for peace. It was agreed that all the Imperial territory recently occupied by the Deccanis should be ceded to the Mughals. "Fifty lakhs of rupees were to be paid as *tribute*—18 lakhs by Bijapur, 12 lakhs by Ahmadnagar, and 20 lakhs by Golkunda".[3]

Bijapur agrees to pay tribute.

Malik Ambar, the one powerful man in the Deccan, did not live very long. The federation of the three Muslim States was soon broken, and factions and parties grew up.

After the death of Malik Ambar, his son Fateh Khan, surrendered practically the whole of Nizam-Shahi territory to the Mughals. (*Basatin*, 299-300). The Bijapuris were much chagrined at the turn of events. Shahjahan, who was now the Mughal Emperor, had soon to march to the

2 Ibid, 282.

3 Ibid, 334; K. K. I. 314; *Badshahnama*, 200.

Deccan to conduct operations, against Shahji to whom Adil Shah was lending his support. Shahji was the father of Sivaji, and a high officer of the Nizam Shahi Kings. He had set up a boy of the house of Nizam-Shah as a claimant to the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar most of which had passed into Mughal hands. Shahjahan sent a *firman* to Bijapur, demanding the restitution of Nizam Shahi forts recently occupied by the latter, the punishment of Shahji and the payment of arrears. Peace, however, was soon concluded in 1636, on the following terms:—(1) Adil Shah must acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor. (2) The Nizam-Shahi territory should be divided between the Mughals and the Sultan. (3) Bijapur to retain its ancestral territory. (4) Bijapur should respect the frontiers of Golkunda. (5) Shahji should not be allowed to find refuge in Bijapur territory, unless he ceded Junnar and some other forts to the Mughals. (6) Adil Shah should pay a *peshkash* (present) of 20 lacs of rupees.[4] The last item has been treated only as an indemnity by those who deny the vassalage of the Bijapuri Sultans. Aurangzeb's interference with Bijapur has been criticised mainly on the ground that it was not a tributary state. As many writers have laid an emphasis on this point, the status of Bijapur has to be considered for the sake of historical exactitude.[5] The following references to *peshkash* make it abundantly clear that the money demanded by Shahjahan and Jahangir was in the nature of a tribute:—

Treaty of 1636.

Peshkash meant annual tribute.

"Adil Khan," writes a Persian author, 'giving help to Sahu (Shahji) delayed the payment of *peshkash*."[6]

4 Abdul Hamid, (B. I. Series), 166-175.

5 Sarkar, I, 39, 255, NOTE.

6 M. U. I, 125.

The above passage refers to a time before the conclusion of the treaty of 1636. A letter of Shahjahan is quoted by the same author thus, "As you (*i. e.*, Adil Shah) have not sent the *peshkash* after our accession, it is imperative that you should forward the same early."[7] "Between the King (Adil Shah) and Shahjahan," writes a Bijapuri historian, "an ill-feeling grew up. As the *annual present* fell into arrear, Shahjahan sent strongly worded letters to the King."[8] The tone of letters exchanged between the Sultan and the Emperor leave no manner of doubt as to Adil Shah's inferior position. "This is the petition of the *servant*, true to the path of loyalty," writes the Sultan of Bijapur; and then he quotes the verse of Hafiz, substituting the name of Shahjahan for that of Sultan Mansur, an Iranian King, in whose praise the gifted poet had sung his panegyrics.[9] Shahjahan wrote to the Deccan potentate, "Your expressions of devotion and loyalty, and the acceptance of obedience became known to us."[10]

It is an admitted fact that Qutb Shah was paying an annual tribute, yet the word used by Aurangzeb both in relation to Bijapur and Golkunda is *peshkash*.[11] Khafi Khan uses the same term with reference to the annual tribute paid by Qutb Shah.[12] We have the authority of

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7 M. U. I, 128.

8 *Basatin*, 302.

ارسال پیشکش هرساله درتعویق افتاد و بنابران ازطرف شاهجهان مکتوبات خشونت آمیز اصدارمي یافت

9 M. U. I, 174.

جوزا سحر نهاد حمایل برابرم یعني غلام شاهم و سوگند می خورم
گر دید نام شاه جهان حرز جان من وز این خجسته نام بر آعدا مظفرم

(I say on oath that I am a slave of the king and the name of Shahjahan is a protection of my life and makes me victorious over my enemies.)

10 M. U. I, 168.

11 *Adab*, 66-b, 74-b.

12 K. K. II, 323.

a Hindu historian who distinctly applies the word tribute. "When the fort of Daulatabad and the adjacent country were annexed to the imperial dominion, Adil Khan entreated for pardon and forgiveness for the help he had given to Nizam Shah, and, expressing his loyalty and devotion, accepted the payment of an annual tribute."[13] A Bijapuri historian quotes the order of Aurangzeb after the murder of Khan Muhammad during the invasion of Bijapur to the following effect, "Aurangzeb ordered that the annual tribute from Bijapur should not be paid to him, but should be spent in erecting a tomb for Khan Muhammad."[14] Grant Duff is of opinion that the principal condition of the treaty between Shahjahan and Adil Shah was "the payment of an annual tribute of 20 lacs of pagodas."[15]

The anxiety of the Sultan of Bijapur to secure the title of Shah from Shahjahan through the good offices of Dara and Jahanara Begam who were paid 20 lacs of rupees, indicates the respective position of the two rulers.[16] The conferment of the title of Shah did in no way detract from the vassalage of Bijapur.

Bijapur, a vassal State.

A story is told how one day a representative of Qutb Shah happened to suggest in an interview with Aurangzeb that his master was a Shah, hinting thereby that Qutb Shah was absolutely independent. "Since when has your master become a Shah?" sharply questioned Aurangzeb. "From the day when Your Majesty took the title of Shahan i-Shah (the king of kings)" was the envoy's quick retort.

The vassal state of Bijapur is evident from the fact that like every Raja, Zamindar or Mughal officer, the Sultan

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13 *Lub-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind.*

14 *Basatin*, 368.

15 Duff, I, 92.

16 *Haft Gulshan*, 299.

was forced to receive imperial *firmans* a few miles outside his capital. This was naturally very galling to Adil Shah's dignity, and he often succeeded, by bribing Mughal officers or by feigning illness, in excusing himself from visiting *firman-bari*, the appointed place for the reception of *firmans*. There are several letters preserved in the Adab in which Shahjahan insists on the proper observance of all formalities.[17] The granting of the title of Khan-i-Khanan on his premier noble by Adil Shah, and the holding of elephant combats by the latter also drew a sharp letter of rebuke from Shahjahan.

Causes of discord between Adil Shah and Shahjahan.

After the treaty of 1636, Bijapur, free from any interference, extended its territory in the Karnatak, and kept friendly relations with Shahjahan. But three causes of discord soon manifested themselves. Firstly, the annual tribute was always in arrears. Secondly, during the war with Golkunda, Bijapur had secretly made preparations for an attack on the Mughals; and it was owing to Aurangzeb's watchfulness and severe warning to Adil Shah that the latter refrained from giving any active help to Qutb-ul-Mulk. Thirdly, Shahji, at the bidding of Adil Shah, had taken possession of some part of the Karnatak which belonged to Mir Jumla and which had been annexed to the imperial dominions.

Muhammad Adil Shah, after a long and prosperous reign of 30 years, breathed his last in November, 1656, and a boy of obscure parentage was elevated to the throne under the title of Ali Adil Shah II. A good deal of controversy seems to prevail as to the right of Ali Adil Shah to the

17 It was the established rule that the recipient of the *firman* must go one or two miles outside the city. He was required to make a low obeisance before the *firman*, and then return to *firman-bari* where the royal order used to be read out

throne. Assertions have been made by Bijapuri historians[18] proving the legitimacy of the new ruler, while independent accounts hold a contrary view. The majority of authors declare that Ali was not the son of Muhammad Adil Shah.[19]

Parentage of Ali Adil Shah.

Without underrating the fact that the Mughals availed themselves of every opportunity that tended in any way to strengthen their hold on the Deccan, it must be observed that the suzerain power could not have remained indifferent to the elevation to the throne of a person who had no rightful claim. The principle of 'paramountcy' had as much force and relevancy in the time of Shahjahan as it has to day in

18 Two books deal with the Deccan States—(1) *Tarikh Ali Adil Shah.* (2) *Basatin-i-Salatin.* The first was written at the order of Ali Adil Shah in 1666. As the first invasion of Bijapur took place in 1656 on the ground of the obscure parentage of the Sultan, the book, compiled after the cause of quarrel and at the instance of the Sultan, cannot be a good evidence. *Basatin* was written 73 years after *Tarikh Ali Adil Shah.*

19 M. U. III, 535.
Lub-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind by Brindaban.
Tohfa Shahjahani by Sudhari Lal.
Aml Saleh.
Waris.
Fryer, I, 55.
K. K. I, 754 ; II . 316 (with reference to Sikandar Adil Shah).
Bernier (2nd edition) 197.
Tavernier, I, 183.

Professor Sarkar's argument (I. 285) that at the time of Ali's birth Muhammad Adil Shah was about 29 years old, and therefore there was no need for him to introduce a stranger's child in his palace, is fallacious. It may be true that the queen could not have lost all hope of having an issue, but it often happens that a lady adopts a child, not out of hopelessness, but because the motherly instinct in her struggles for expression. Now the Queen, Bari Sahiba, is not credited as being the mother of Ali. What reasons, therefore, had she in adopting a child which was not her own? In fact, there was no necessity for adoption at all, particularly when Muhammad Adil Shah had no other son. Even if Ali Adil Shah was the son of a slave-girl, he had a recognised status according to Islamic Law. Even among the Mughals, sons born of different wives had equal status. There was thus no reason for the *adoption* of Ali Adil Shah.

relation to the British Government, *vis-a-vis* the Indian States. And when we find that the nobles of Bijapur were divided in their allegiance, many of them being against the succession of Ali Adil Shah,[20] it will be seen that Shahjahan had plausible reason for interference.

We have previously related how Bijapur and Golkunda had taken possession of the Karnatak which, after being annexed to the imperial dominion, had been granted to Mir Jumla as his *jagir*. After the arrival of Mir Jumla at Court in July 1656, he was appointed prime minister; and as he was an expert in Deccan affairs, it was decided to send an expeditionary force under his command for the occupation of the Karnatak. It will thus be seen that Mir Jumla had a personal and dominant interest in the subjugation of the Deccan. Mir Jumla had gone to Delhi as the nominee of Aurangzeb who, anxious to further cement his alliance with the former, was shrewd enough to make the cause of the prime minister his own.

Mir Jumla's interest in the Deccan.

From the very outset Dara Shukoh was against Mir Jumla, and was foolish enough to ridicule the gait and manner of the old minister. "Not content with having affronted so many," writes Manucci about Dara, "he must needs ridicule the great soldier, Mir Jumla, when he arrived at his father's Court. He ordered the noble's sword that he was wearing at his waist, to be stolen as soon as he entered the royal palace by active fellows of whom he kept a number for the execution of such-like tricks. In addition, he ordered his buffoons several times to imitate the gait and the gestures of the said Mir Jumla, making mock of him."[21]

Dara ridicules Mir Jumla.

20 K. K. II, 754.

21 Storia I, 225-226.

Dara was in close alliance with the Deccani Sultans—a circumstance that challenged the personal interest of Mir Jumla. Coupled with this fact, if we consider Dara's unseemly attitude towards the powerful minister, it is not at all surprising if, just to break the power of the eldest Prince, Mir Jumla "brought about the downfall of the peace party under Dara Shukoh."[22] Manucci's assertion that it was Mir Jumla who induced Shahjahan to invade Bijapur is a true statement of facts.[23]

We have previously related that after the arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi, it was proposed to put him in command of the expeditionary force against the Karnatak. Aurangzeb wanted to hasten Mir Jumla's departure to the Deccan, but it seems that Shahjahan changed his plan, and decided to send the prime minister to the Deccan after the expected death of Muhammad Adil Shah who was suffering from a severe illness. In a letter to Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb writes, "I am pleased to hear that His Majesty will send you (to the Deccan) after receiving the news of Adil Khan's death." This letter shows that Shahjahan was not unmindful of the turn of events after the death of the Sultan.

We are not in possession of Shahjahan's instructions to Aurangzeb or of Mir Jumla's correspondence with the latter, but it can be safely inferred that all of them were agreed on a common policy. In a letter to Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb writes, "I read your letter and all that you have written to me on His Majesty's behalf. I reported the actual facts to His Majesty, and informed you as well of the same. I am busy collecting troops, about the paucity of which in this province you know so well. I have given instructions to the commanders of forts on the frontier to be vigilant. As the suppression of this disturbance (*i.e.*, of the Karnatak) is

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22 Sarkar, I, 258.

23 Manucci, I, 239.

necessary, and on the veracity of the news from Bijapur, and on the death of its ruler, we shall have to turn our attention in that direction as well, due preparations are necessary. I hope you will inform His Majesty of these facts, and, thinking any delay inadvisable, will soon start, so that the opportunity might not slip away." [24]

Aurangzeb asks for instructions.

Though in the above letter, Aurangzeb speaks of 'due preparations,' it seems that the idea of collecting troops was given up. As soon as the news of Muhammad Adil Shah's death was received by Aurangzeb, he wrote the following letter to Mir Jumla: "Be it known that the letter of Muhammad Amin, the envoy at Bijapur, reached me on Sunday. As it contained the news of Adil Khan's death and the succession of a boy of obscure parentage, I forwarded the same to His Majesty with the request that whatever may be ordered should be acted upon. *Till the receipt of the royal order, the collection of men will be postponed.*" (*Adab*).

Though on the receipt of Aurangzeb's letter Shahjahan gave the latter a free hand to annex the entire Bijapur territory, if he could, the Emperor was only anxious to secure the forts and territories of the late Nizam-Shahi dynasty which were left in the possession of Adil Shah by the treaty of 1636. Shahjahan asked Aurangzeb to leave the ancestral territory of Bijapur intact, after securing 1½ karors of rupees in cash, jewels, and elephants. He also wanted the introduction of Mughal coinage in the Bijapur territory and the recital of his name in the *khutba* (Friday sermon). (Adab).

24 *Adab*, 118-a. On the basis of the above letter, Sir Sarkar thinks that Aurangzeb "planned the invasion of Bijapur even before the death of its king." (I. 259). Aurangzeb did not plan the *invasion*, but only suggested 'due preparations' to meet the contingencies that were bound to arise after the death of Muhammad Adil Shah.

We have seen how after the invasion of Golkunda, Aurangzeb was accused of misappropriation of jewels by Shahjahan whose general attitude towards the former was anything but considerate. Aurangzeb was naturally smarting under the unjust treatment, and he suffered from an acute feeling of depression. The fire of ambition in him was extinguished by Shahjahan's cold and frigid behaviour. On the receipt of the Emperor's order for the invasion of Bijapur he did not betray any enthusiasm. Aurangzeb's acute resentment finds expression in a letter to Mir Jumla: "Though I have repeatedly experienced the want of confidence and trust (on the part of the Emperor) which is the basis of service, and whatever recently happened is known to you from beginning to end, yet for the sake of submission and service, I will do whatever lies in my power." In a letter to Shaista Khan, Aurangzeb writes, "Though I have no heart for undertaking a task of this kind (*i. e.*, the conquest of Bijapur) as the results of the services previously performed by me have so much depressed me that I have no incentive for any other work, yet as during this time such intentions have been formed (as the invasion of Bijapur,) and, on account of my innate disposition, I could not remain unconcerned, I submitted (to the Emperor) what was necessary. If the supply (of men and material) is properly undertaken, I hope, this expedition will end successfully and excite the envy of the ill-wishers." (*Adab*).

Aurangzeb's Complaints.

After the sad experience of the Golkunda war which culminated in his being charged with misappropriation, Aurangzeb naturally was not at all enthusiastic about another expedition. Aurangzeb's letters clearly prove that he was *not* planning any invasion of Bijapur. On the contrary he was very reluctant to undertake what he regarded as a thankless task. But he must needs obey the Emperor's

orders. Aurangzeb's force of character is indicated by the fact that in spite of severe discouragement from Shahjahan who openly expressed his want of confidence in his son, once the invasion of Bijapur was decided upon, Aurangzeb concentrated his energy on the completion of the task.

Invasion of Bijapur.

We have previously stated that Shahjahan had decided to send Mir Jumla to the Deccan after the death of Muhammad Adil Shah. When Mir Jumla arrived at Aurangabad in January, 1657, Aurangzeb set out with the prime minister for the invasion of Bijapur. The impregnable fort of Bidar was captured at the end of March. Next month the strong fort of Kaliani was invested which was ultimately taken by assault in the end of July. The road to Bijapur was now open before him. But Aurangzeb's success roused Dara's jealousy, and the Bijapuri agent successfully intrigued to check Aurangzeb's progress towards Bijapur. Shahjahan ordered Aurangzeb to conclude peace with Ali Adil Shah. Negotiations were opened and the Sultan agreed to pay an indemnity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ karors of rupees and to cede Bidar, Kaliani, Parenda, Wangi, and all the ports of Nizam-Shahi Konkan. Later on, however, Shahjahan remitted half a karor from the indemnity. (August, 1657).

Apart from Dara's interference, the illness of Shahjahan, early in September, 1657, radically changed the situation. Dara took the entire control of the administration and sent orders to the Mughal officers in the Deccan, to return immediately to Court. The fruits of victory were at the last moment thrown away by Dara, who filled with jealousy at Aurangzeb's success and afraid of a large army remaining under his rival's command at a critical moment, sent peremptory orders for the recall of high officers. Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatarsal left the field with their

respective contingents without Aurangzeb's permission. Aurangzeb found himself in a very awkward predicament. He could not ignore the affairs in Northern India; and he had no means at his disposal to enforce the treaty recently concluded with Bijapur. Aurangzeb, however, sent Mir Jumla to take possession of the Parenda fort at the end of September, 1657, and himself set out from Kaliani and reached Bedar on the 9th of October. The Bijapuris, in the meantime, learnt the truth about Shahjahan's severe illness, and began to harass the Mughals. Aurangzeb thought it prudent to retire to Aurangabad and wait for developments at court. Consequently he left Bedar and arrived at Aurangabad on 11th November. In the meantime, Mir Jumla failed to take Parenda and Bijapur refused to send the promised indemnity. Aurangzeb then tried to make a friendly settlement with Bijapur. He promised to forego all claims to the territory recently ceded by Bijapur and to remit 30 lacs of rupees out of the indemnity promised by the Sultan. In return Aurangzeb wanted the Sultan to send a force of 10,000 cavalry. But the latter knew Aurangzeb's predicament, and refused to give him any help. When Mir Jumla was losing all hope of reducing Parenda, he received an urgent order of recall from Shahjahan. Consequently, he left the field and arrived at Aurangabad in January, 1658. Mir Jumla could not afford to disobey the Emperor's orders, as his family was at Agra. Aurangzeb, therefore, had him arrested and sent him to the fort of Daulatabad.

Shahjahan's illness.

Aurangzeb's military preparations were now far advanced. Leaving his son, Muhammad Muazzam at Aurangabad, he began his march northward, on 5th February, 1658, to contest the Mughal throne.

CHAPTER XV.

BIJAPUR.

Sivaji's activities.

Much water had flowed under the bridges since Aurangzeb's first departure for the Deccan in 1658 and his reappearance in 1683. The State of Bijapur being distracted by factious nobility, Sivaji started on the conquest of the Konkan in 1658 and succeeded in occupying several strongholds on the sea-coast. The Bijapur Government became alive to the seriousness of the situation and began to make preparations for crushing Sivaji's rebellion Afzal Khan was sent against the Maratha Chief, but he was treacherously murdered by Sivaji.[1] Soon after this event Panhala and Powangurh were surrendered, Wussuntgurh, and Rangnee were taken by assault. Rustam Khan was sent by the Bijapur Government to save Kolhapur, but Sivaji fell on him like lightning and routed his detachment. He carried his depredations to the environs of Bijapur, spreading terror all round. Sivaji was doing his work with impunity, only because the courtiers of Ali Adil Shah II were themselves fighting for division of power. "Owing to the young age of the King," writes the Bijapuri historian, "and the coming to power of the unfit, the State was tottering and the administration was without any cohesion."[2] But the murder of Afzal Khan and the defeat of Rustam opened the eyes of the nobles, and a large army was sent against Sivaji under the command of Siddi Jauhar, afterwards known as Salabat Khan, in 1660. The campaign was opened by the siege of Panhala which was defended by Sivaji in person. All the approaches to the fort were held by the Bijapuris and its fall was imminent when Sivaji hit upon a stratagem to

His stratagem.

1 See Appendix D.
2 *Basatin.*

extricate himself. He opened negotiation for its capitulation in the evening, and made every show of his genuineness, but left some trifling details to be settled in the morning. All fighting naturally ceased, but before the dawn broke, with his chosen followers, he quietly left the beleagured fort and passed out unsuspected by the Bijapuris who were lulled into security by his overtures.[3] His flight was discovered too late. At last Ali Adil Shah himself took the field and after reducing Panhala, encamped himself on the approach of the monsoon. In the meantime, Sivaji got possession of Rajapur while the Sultan was busy punishing his refractory subjects in the Karnatak.

So far Sivaji had interested himself only with Bijapur, but now he turned his attention towards the Mughal territory. As the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Raja Jai Singh against Sivaji will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter, we pass on to the second invasion of Bijapur by the Mughals.

The Sultan of Bijapur pays no tribute.

Raja Jai Singh having achieved his mission, *i.e.*, the capitulation of Sivaji, he was ordered to invade Bijapur. The treaty of 1657 between the Sultan and Aurangzeb had imposed an indemnity of one karor of rupees on Ali Adil Shah, but the latter paid the paltry sum of fifteen lacs of rupees in seven years.

And leagues himself with Sivaji.

Not only was it that Adil Shah paid no tribute for a number of years, but when Aurangzeb had ordered Jai Singh to proceed against Sivaji, he had asked the Sultan of Bijapur to join hands with the Mughal army and see the last of the common foe. "I ask you," writes Aurangzeb to Adil Khan, "to oust Siva from the Konkan where he is creating disturbances or if you want to employ him give him a *jagir* in the Karnatak so that he may be far away from the imperial

3 *Basatin*, 374.

dominions."[4] But Adil Shah, not realizing the danger, saw his security in the growing power of Sivaji and secretly gave him his moral and material support. " *Firmans* were also sent to Adil Khan that he should send his army against that rebel (Sivaji). Outwardly he (Sultan) made a show of obeying the royal orders and sent some forces against him, but in reality, believing that the collapse of Sivaji would mean his own ruin, thought it expedient that Sivaji should remain between the Mughal army and the Bijapur State. At this time he put himself in friendly communication with the Marathas and, forming an alliance, secretly gave him his support and helped him by sending cash and other materials."[5] When the Sultan of Bijapur heard that the Mughals were contemplating the invasion of Bijapur, he sent Mulla Ahmad to Jai Singh asking the latter to desist from a bloody contest; but the Maharaja did not listen to overtures of peace. (*Basatin*, 405).

Bijapur campaign.

The army of Raja Jai Singh opened the campaign against Bijapur in November, 1665, and the same Sivaji, on whom the Sultan of Bijapur was fawning, joined the Mughals and fought against the Bijapuris. In four weeks the Mughals occupied three forts on the frontier. Sivaji was, however, called to Court.. and Raja Jai Singh pressed his army towards Bijapur. Qutb Shah suddenly shook off his lethargy and sent Neknam Khan with 30,000 men to the succour of Adil Shah.[6] The Bijapuris had laid waste all the country round and it was impossible to supply provisions to such a large force as the Raja had under his command. In the meantime, chiefs and nobles from Bijapur were deserting their master

4 *Adab* 229-a; *Basatin*, 398.
5 A. N. 912-913, *Haft Anjuman*
6 K. K. II, 195.

and flocking to the Raja who gratified them by conferring honours in the Emperor's name. The siege had now dragged on for five months, there being many bloody encounters between the belligerents. In the last battle both the sides fought with a renewed vigour and the Deccanis put up a very stubborn defence, but the concentrated attack of the Rajputs and the Afghans bent the Bijapur line and one of their doughty commanders, Musa Khan, with many others was killed. They were chased for many miles and a considerable booty fell in the hands of the Mughals.[7]

Jai Singh raises the siege.

But as the army had practically no rest for about six months and as no provisions could be had, Bijapuris having devastated the surrounding country, the Raja, in order to look after the wounded and replenish his ordnance, retired to the village Dharur and reported the whole situation to the Emperor. The Bijapuris too, on their side, were getting weary of the bloody struggle and wanted to make some settlement. Aurangzeb, however, when apprised of the pitiable state of the country and its ruin and desolation, ordered Jai Singh to raise the siege and return to Aurangabad.[8]

Later on, when the news of Raja Jai Singh's illness arrived, Aurangzeb appointed Dilair Khan as Governor of the Deccan and instructed him to re-open operations against Bijapur. But subsequently, Sultan Muazzam was made the Subadar in his place in the beginning of 1077, A. H. (1666, A. D).

Domestic quarrels at Bijapur.

In order to follow the subsequent developments in the Deccan, it is proper at this stage to give a brief account of domestic quarrels at Bijapur. When Ali Adil Shah II had a

7 K. K. II, 197.
8 Ibid.

paralytic stroke in December, 1672, and Abdul Muhammad was his Prime Minister, two other persons of note and influence were Khawas Khan and Abdul Karim Khan. As both these men were too eager for self-aggrandisement, the Prime Minister, studying only the interest of the State, brought about a reconciliation by eliminating himself from the high position he occupied. He arranged that Khawas Khan should be made regent, while he himself with Abdul Karim should be sent to govern the different parts of the State. Abdul Karim, was, however, given the command of the army.

Bijapur was divided into two camps, the Afghan party, headed by Abdul Karim Khan, and the Deccan group with Khawas Khan as its leader. Each faction had its Brahman dependents who actually fomented disputes. One Dinanath Pandit who was in confidence of Khawas Khan "artfully promoted the inveteracy of the parties." He suggested to his master that, as the Afghans had acquired too much power in the State and Sivaji possessed himself of a big slice of the Bijapur territory, the only way out of the difficulty was to implore the protection of the Emperor and, with his army, to crush Sivaji and the rebellious Afghans. The proposal soon materialised and Khawas Khan and Khan Jahan, representing the Emperor, met at Burhanpur on the banks of the Kistna and they formed a mutual alliance.[9] It

Pact between Bijapur and the Mughals.

was settled between Khawas Khan and Bahadur Khan (Khan Jahan) that Badshah Bibi, daughter of Ali Adil Shah, should be married to one of the Royal Princes, that Khawas Khan in person should take the field against Sivaji, that the Emperor should forego the annual tribute and confer the title of Shah on Sultan Sikander. Bahadur Khan

9 Scots, 39.

having made the pact made a report to the Emperor and tried his best to obtain its ratification. All the terms were accepted, except the remission of the annual tribute which was subject to the vanquishment of Sivaji. Khawas Khan was granted the title of Nawazish Khan with robes of honour. But suddenly events took an unexpected turn. "As the alliance between the Mughals and the Bijapuris was brought about through the efforts of Hakim Shamsa, some people became envious of him and setting his brother Mir Muhammad Baqar against him, made complaints against the Hakim. Khawas Khan, not realizing the tricks of the mischievous people, turned his mind against Hakim Shamsa...........When the Afghan soldiers were strongly agitating for arrears of pay, it was suggested to Khawas Khan that as Mir Baqar and Hakim Shamsa were relations of Jafar Khan he should be careful of the Afghans. Khawas Khan, ignorant of the duplicity and without verifying the reports, turned against Mir Baqar as well. Later on he sent Shiam Rao to Khan Jahan to invite his help for the suppression of the Afghans; but, realizing the fickle-mindedness of Khawas Khan, Khan Jahan did not pay any heed to Shiam Rao"[10] Dinanath at this stage secretly went to Abdul Karim and represented to him that

Dinanath's perfidy.

'Khawas Khan had made a promise to hand over the State to Aurangzeb. Abdul Karim, determined to get rid of Khawas Khan, managed to make him prisoner and later on put him to death. This incident coupled with some other provocations brought the matter to an acute crisis when the Deccanis, joined by Siddi Masaud and others, resolved to put an end to Abdul Karim's high-handedness. The two armies met in mortal combat, the battle remaining favourable to Abdul Karim. In the end, however, the parties dispersed

10 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 442, 444.

and Abdul Karim, detecting Dinanath's instigations, went back to Bijapur and put the Pandit to death.

Hearing the news of Khawas Khan's murder, Aurangzeb ordered Khan Jahan to march against Abdul Karim and appointed Dilair Khan as second in command. But Khan Jahan and Dilair Khan did not work harmoniously. It was suspected that Dilair Khan secretly wrote to the Emperor that Khan Jahan had made private agreements with the Sultan of Haidarabad and Sivaji.[11] Khan Jahan was re-called and Dilair Khan was appointed Governor in his place. Several actions were fought between the two armies, the progress of the war remaining favourable to Abdul Karim. But with the mediation of Dilair Khan, who had a great regard for Abdul Karim and his followers, who were Afghans and therefore his kinsmen, a settlement was arranged at Gulbarga in 1677 between the Bijapuri commander and the Mughal Governor.

Dilair Khan, Governor of the Deccan.

It was agreed that Bijapur was to be given over to Siddi Masaud who promised to fulfil the agreement made by Khawas Khan, *i. e.*, to preserve peace and order in his country to crush Sivaji and send Badshah Bibi to the Mughal Camp.[12] But when Masaud Khan returned to Bijapur, he refused to comply with the terms. He would neither pay the arrears of Abdul Karim's troops, and thus restore order, nor send the Sultan's sister to the Mughal camp.

Bijapuris refuse to redeem their promise.

As Masaud had no money to pay to the army, one Chinto Jamnaji Brahman went to the Siddi and offered to collect money for him. His tyrannies and extortions

Tyranny of a Brahman.

11 Scott, II.46.
12 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 456.

were so appalling that any one who went to the market even to buy a rupee's worth of wheat was brought before him, mercilessly beaten and forced to pay all the cash he had in his possession. (*Basatin* 462). His oppression and cruelty exceeded that of Madanna of Haidarabad.

"When the depredations of Sivaji," writes the Bijapur historian, "went beyond limit, and commotion and anarchy got hold of the entire Adil Shahi territory, Masaud Khan, ignoring the pact with the Moghals began to seek alliance with Sivaji. Dilair Khan wrote to Masaud Khan that intriguing with Sivaji and seeking his alliance would be fatal for him, and that it would serve him no purpose. Malik Barkhurdar, the envoy at Bijapur, also gave him his advice, but Masaud Khan paid no heed and formed a conspiracy with Sivaji. The wily Siva, receiving such a welcome message of alliance, promptly accepted it. As the sons, brothers, cousins, and Sardars of Abdul Karim Khan, on account of unemployment, were in a very straitened circumstances and on account of extreme indigence determined to leave the country and go out in different directions, Malik Barkhurdar reported the matter to the Emperor Alamgir and added that, as the Khan had raised a large army, it would be proper that it should be taken into the Imperial service and should be made an instrument for breaking Sivaji's backbone. Alamgir, appreciating the suggestion, gave orders to maintain that army."[13] It was the same army which Masaud Khan had undertaken to pay, but once considering his position secure, he had delayed the payment with the consequence that "the soldiers proceeded to such extremities and clamoured for their pay as to seize everything he had, not excepting even the jewels and ornaments of the women."[14]

13 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 467, 469-470.

14 Scot, 49.

The Mughals invade Bijapur.

Dilair Khan's arrangements having been upset, he started towards Bijapur to force the agreement. The Siddi invited Sivaji to his help, and the latter began to harass the Mughals. Later on, the Bijapuris began to suspect the *bona fides* of Sivaji and scented treachery as the Marathas insisted on taking possession of one gate and bastion of the city and they were also found to smuggle arms and soldiers inside the fort. "Siva who had spent his whole life in deceit, though outwardly he had made common cause with Masaud Khan, in his heart he had quite a different view, but Masaud Khan, suspecting him, was on the alert."[15] The result of this distrust, however, was that Sivaji began to loot the Bijapur territory, and Masaud Khan was obliged to settle terms with Dilair Khan. Masaud Khan now asked Badshah Bibi to go to the Mughal Court, as previously arranged. At first she refused to leave Bijapur, but seeing the matter assuming a very serious turn she consented to proceed to the Mughal camp where she was received with due respect. (1679 A. D.) [16] She was later on married to Prince Azam.

Treachery of the Marathas.

Sivaji's attempt to take Bijapur by bribery.

It will be of interest to relate here the attempt that Sivaji made to get hold of the Bijapur fort by bribery. Jamshed Khan, the *ziladar*, agreed to deliver the fort of Bijapur and the person of Sikandar Adil Shah for 600,000 pagodas. "Siddi Masaud, having intelligence of this, feigns a sickness, at last death, and causes a *handol* publicly to be

15 *Basatin*, 472 & 473.

16 Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes with some vehemence, "She (*i.e.*, Badshah Bibi) refused to desert her young brother Sikandar, go to Delhi, and marry the son of a bigotted Sunni who hated her for a heretic Shia." (IV. 157) But had not Aurangzeb married his son Muhammad Sultan to a Shia, the daughter of Qutb Shah ?

sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue (of his troops) about 4,000 sent to Jamshed, pretending that since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi in alive."[17]

Sivaji was happily foiled in his cleverly conceived scheme, but the incident serves to show not only the degeneracy of a Bijapuri noble, but also the aims and artifices of the great Maratha.

Dilair Khan's aggression.

It seems that Dilair Khan had lost all faith in Masaud and was convinced that as long as he remained at Bijapur he would not stop from intriguing with Sivaji. Hakim Shamsa, an adversary of Masaud, made common cause with Dilair Khan, who now asked the Siddi to leave Bijapur and leave the administration in the hands of the Hakim till the Sultan attained the age of majority. Though the Siddi was by no means a reliable person, Dilair Khan had no justification to join in the virtual elimination of Masaud from the Government of Bijapur. On the refusal of Masaud Khan, when Dilair Khan started towards Bijapur, Masaud again requested Sivaji to hasten to his succour. Sivaji got within 24 miles of the Mughal camp but, finding the besiegers too strong, he made a detour northward and ravaged the Mughal territory. In the meanwhile, Prince Muazzam, the new Viceroy of the Deccan, made a complaint against Dilair Khan to the Emperor and wrote to him that it was impossible to reduce Bijapur.[17-a] As several of the nobles

17 Sarkar, IV, 219.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar justifies Sivaji's conduct. He extols his wisdom and sense of honour, (IV, 160) and hails the Maratha Chief as Adil Shah's true friend.

17-a *Basatin*, 498.

who bore enmity against Dilair Khan also joined in the protest, Aurangzeb censured Dilair Khan and re-called Hakim Shamsa and Malik Barkhurdar, the envoy at Bijapur. Dilair Khan, however, did not raise the siege of Bijapur but pressed it on more vigorously, but Masaud Khan, putting up a stubborn resistance, Dilair Khan was obliged to leave Bijapur in January. 1680.

Reward of Sivaji's alliance.

As the price of his alliance with Bijapur, Sivaji had demanded the cession of the tract around Kopal and Bellary; also the cession of all claims to sovereignty on the conquered territory in Drawed, the principality of Tanjore and the *jagir* districts of Shahjee.[18] All these conditions were accepted by Masaud Khan. Sivaji had every reason to be proud of his achievement, but he did not live long afterwards to enjoy the fruits of his labour and died on 5th April, 1680.

Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.

Sambhaji succeeded his father Sivaji. The following year, 1681, Sultan Muhammad Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb, fled from Rajputana and took asylum with Sambhaji. Aurangzeb was already getting apprehensive of the growing strength of the Marathas, and the alliance of Prince Akbar with the latter was an incident too important to be left to itself. The combination suggested possibilities, and he decided to settle the affair in the Deccan by taking the field in person. Before leaving Northern India, he sent a *firman* to Sharza Khan asking him to co-operate with Khanjahan Bahadur in extirpating the Marathas.[19] "When Alamgir became convinced," writes the Bijapur historian, "that with all this advice and solicitude, nothing was done and the nobles and ministers of Bijapur, owing to chronic dissensions, did not make any effort

18 Duff, Vol. I, 237.
19 *Basatin*, 520-521.

to set their house in order and did not desist from helping the infidel, who did not follow the ways of obedience, but, giving refuge to the rebellious son, were creating trouble and the settlement was impossible without personally taking the command, and as the annexation of Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi States like that of Nizam Shahi had ever been his abiding passion, the royal standard moved towards Burhanpar."[20] This place he reached in 1683. Sultan Muazzam was sent to reduce Sambhaji's southern territory, while Azim Shah was asked to take possession of his northern forts. In the meantime, he sent a *firman* to Sikander, 1 to supply provisions, 2 to keep open the roads for the army, 3 to help the imperial force, at the time of need, 4 to send 5000 cavalry to help the Princes, 5 to keep aloof from intriguing overtly or covertly with Sambha, 6 and to oust Sharza Khan from his territory.

His *firman* to the Sultan.

Sultan Sikander made the following counter proposals:—1. Remission of the money taken from Dilair Khan. 2. Sharza Khan should be pardoned. 3. The territory given to him in *jagir*, now occupied by the imperial officers, should be returned to him. 4. The imperial army, coming out of Bijapur territory, should stop *Thanabandi*.[21] 5. All the districts possessed by imperial officers should be restored to him. 6. The imperial army should pursue the enemy by way of Poona and Chakna, while his own forces should proceed by way of Merich. 7. Reinforcements should be sent to him whenever occasion arises. 8. All the Bijapur territory now occupied by the Marathas should be given over to him when conquered by the imperial army. 9. If Sambhaji begs for peace, first of all his own territory

Sikandar's reply.

20 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 527-528.

21 Formation of Mughal outposts or block-houses.

should be taken from him.[22] The Bijapur historian writes, "None of the orders recorded in the *firman* were acted upon, neither provisions came, nor any reinforcement. As the line of communication was daily hampered and Aurangzeb became convinced of the secret conspiracy of Sikandar with Sambhaji, his wrath knew no bounds and he gave orders for *thanabandi* in the Bijapur territory."[23] Khafi Khan says, "When the news of alliance of Sikandar with the enemy (Sambhaji) repeatedly reached His Majesty and *firmans* full of advice did not do any good, he sent Azam Shah for reducing Bijapur."[24] The Prince opened the campaign early in 1685, but the siege dragged on for several months. The Emperor himself moved towards Bijapur in 1686 and vigorously conducted the investment. When Sikandar saw no hope of relief, he sent some distinguished theologians to Aurangzeb with the following message, "You style yourself a righteous king, strictly following the Canon law; but where is the shedding of Moslem blood allowed?" Aurangzeb sent the following reply through his ecclesiastical chiefs:—"What you have said is quite right and there is no need for correction. I have no concern with you or your city or your country and have no mind to have a bloody struggle with you. But the infidel has implanted himself by your side and under your protection causes such a trouble that the Musalmans and the poor of the country from here to the gates of Delhi are sore with his depredations, and cry for redress night and day. His chastisement is imperative. My only intention in leaving the capital and coming to this direction is to catch that rebel and to free the world from his ravages. As he is

Bijapuris secretly help Sambhaji.

Aurangzeb's reply to Sultan's message.

22 *Basatin-i-Salatin*, 531.

23 *Basatin*, 532.

24 K. K. II, 317.

under your protection and your helper, I demand him from you. The moment he falls into my hands, I shall return back."[25] The Bijapuris, hearing the reply, quietly went back to the city.

Surrender of Bijapur.

Realising the futility of further contest, Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered the fort of Bijapur on 12th September 1686, when the last chapter of its history came to a close.

Sikandar passed out of the city of Adil Shahi Kings amidst heart-rending lamentations of his subjects. He was conducted before Aurangzeb who said soothing words to him, and seating him on his right hand, close to his grandson, Muiz-zud-din, presented him with jewels. After a time Sikandar was sent to the fort of Daulatabad, but was later removed from the fortress and carried about with the imperial camp He died in April, 1700, and was buried in Bijapur.

Those who witnessed the grim tragedy of the passing away of a kingdom, and saw the spectacle of a king, who from his high seat once used to dismiss illustrious nobles and grandees by the mere nod of his head, now being forced by Destiny to kneel before the throne of a determined conqueror, could not but ponder sadly on the transitoriness of earthly glory. Even to this distant day the thought of a handsome youth sighing away his life within the four walls of a State prison excites the compassion of the reader for the lad's fate. But a student of history has to trace out causes that culminated in the tragic

Why was Bijapur annexed?

denouement. The real greatness of Bijapur had vanished with the death of Muhammad Adil Sh 1656. Ali Adil Shah II for some time gave promi ministrative

25. *Basatin*, 542-543.

capacity, but later on he succumbed to the blighting effect of wine and blandishments of women. Till his death in 1672 Bijapur had a corporate existence, but thereafter began the period of anarchy in which factious nobles fought for power, and were ready to barter away the Adil Shahi State for filthy lucre. Tyranny and extortion were let loose ; Justice took away her scales and vanished from the land. "No one," writes the Bijapuri historian, "whether a prince or a peasant, ate his meals with peace of mind for a single day ; no one slept a peaceful sleep for a single night." Apart from the reign of terror of the various Regents, the foreign policy of the State was suicidal. The Marathas were freely slicing away Bijapur territory, yet no serious attempt was made to curb their activities; on the contrary, their services were always in demand. though they had nothing better to supply than recurring perfidies. The Bijapuris made pacts with the Mughals, and repeatedly promised not to help the Marathas. But their promises were empty words. They tried to deceive Aurangzeb, but they deceived themselves.

The Bijapuris had two clear alternatives before them. Either they should have made a free and an open alliance with Sivaji and threatened the Mughals with their combined forces; or they should have made a serious attempt to dislodge the Marathas from their possessions by a sincere co-operation with the imperial army. But they adopted the tortuous policy of half-heartedly siding with the Mughals and secretly helping the Marathas. The safety of the Empire was in peril, and the Marathas were going from strength to strength. When the nobles of Bijapur failed to profit by the advice and admonition of the Mughal Emperor, retribution came with a staggering swiftness, and young Sikandar had to atone for the follies

and excesses of his corrupt and selfish guardians and advisers.[26]

With reference to Sivaji's designs, Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, "With Bijapur his relations were somewhat different. He could raise his head or expand his dominions only at the expense of Bijapur. But when, about 1662, an understanding with him was effected by the Adil Shahi ministers, he gave up molesting the heart of the Bijapur Kingdom. With the Bijapuri nobles whose fiefs lay close to his dominions and across the path of natural expansion (*e. g.* Kolhapur, Kanara and Kopal) he could not be at peace, though he did not wish to challenge the Central Government of Bijapur." (Vol. IV. 9).

There can be no doubt that Sivaji did never attack the capital of Adil Shahi Kings, but we have recorded in the preceding pages how the Maratha Chief attempted to secure the person of Sikandar and the citadel of Bijapur by bribery, and how the friendly Marathas tried to smuggle arms and soldiers inside the fort. Sivaji might have honestly believed for a time that the city of Bijapur was necessary for the Sultan to keep up his attenuated dignity, and perhaps, in view of old family relations, he did not wish to deprive the King of his cherished capital. To any man blessed with a vision, however, the measurement of the span of life of a patient, whose limbs were being cut off piecemeal, but whose heart was safe from the surgeon's knife, was a matter of wholesome speculation. But the Bijapuris were a blind people.

26. I have discussed the consequences of the annexation of Golkunda and Bijapur in the last chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MARATHAS.

Maharashtra.

The belt of territory between the Western Ghats and the Indian Ocean known as Konkan, the tract occupied by the Sahyadari Mountains called Maval, and the rolling plains to the east known as Desh, form the country of Maharashtra, and the people inhabiting the land are known as Marathas. Before the Muslim conquest of the Deccan, the people of Maharashtra formed strong and independent States, but after the extinction of the last Hindu kingdom they entered the service of Muslim monarchs. Though they formed valuable auxiliaries to Nizam-Shahi and Adil-Shahi armies, the man who made effective use of light Maratha horse and organised them as an efficient fighting force was Malik Ambar. He was a great master of guerilla tactics; in using the Marathas against the Mughals, he made them conscious of their new-born power. Many Maratha families had risen to distinction in the service of Muslim kings who were ever ready to give employment to persons of outstanding merit.

Maloji, the grandfather of Śivaji, lived at Virul near Daulatabad which belonged to the Nizam Shahi State. Through the good offices of Lakhji Jadav Rao, a high noble of Ahmadnagar, Maloji entered the service of Murtuza Nizam Shah. As Maloji had no son, the help of a Muslim saint named Shah Shareef, was invoked, and when his wife gave birth to a son in 1594, in gratitude for the holy man's blessings, the child was named after him. As Shahji was a handsome boy, Jadav Rao desired to engage his daughter to Maloji's son, but the suggested match brought about the opposition of the family. Maloji, conscious of the advantage of such an alliance, decided to bide his time, and at last with the support of an influential

Shahji, the father of Sivaji.

Zamindar, he rose to a high rank and won Jadav Rao's daughter for Shahji.

When Jahangir had sent an army against Ahmadnagar, Jadav was induced to go over to the Emperor who granted him a high *mansab* along with others of his family. But Jadav Rao, later on, returned to his former master, by whose order he was beheaded. This disgusted Shahji, who presented himself before Shahjahan, then conducting an operation against Khan Jahan Lodi in the Deccan. Shahji was granted the rank of 5,000, a robe of honour and a reward of Rs. 2,00,000. The Emperor also conferred on him some of the districts that belonged to Malik Ambar,—the regent of Nizam Shah. But when Fateh Khan, son of Malik Ambar, having murdered Murtuza Nizam Shah, professed his obedience to Shahjahan, the Emperor returned to him the *jagirs* that belonged to his father, but which had been awarded to Shahji. The Maratha chief took offence at this treatment and joined Adil Shah of Bijapur, and a surprise attack on Daulatabad was arranged between them. In the end, however, both Shahji and the Sultan of Bijapur were forced to surrender.

Sivaji, an adventurous youth.

Shahji, after the treaty with the Emperor in 1636, was given Poona and Supa in his *jagir* by Adil Shah. Sivaji, the son of Shahji, was born on 19th February, 1630[1]. From his early childhood Sivaji had imbibed a vigorous spirit of adventure. His perfect marksmanship and his skill in the use of weapons aroused in him a strong passion for reckless deeds. It appears that from his sixteenth year he began to associate with lawless bands and share their fortunes and profits in their extensive depredations in the Konkan.

When Adil Shah gave Poona and Supa to Shahji, he had given three *parganahs* to one Mulla Ahmed, an Arab noble, whose ancestors had settled in the Konkan. The Mulla kept a

1. *Shiva-Bharat* vi. 26-31.

sufficient army for the security and order of the country, but about the end of Muhammad Adil Shah's reign he removed his forces from the Konkan, and the country was left without a strong and influential man.[2] In the meantime, the Sultan fell ill, which incident brought about a confusion and disorder at Bijapur.

Sivaji took full advantage of the disorders prevailing at the Adil Shahi capital and began to encroach on the Bijapur territory.

In 1646, Sivaji managed to take possession of a fort called Torna, about twenty miles from Poona, by treachery.[3] Before Adil Shah could be apprised of the fact, Sivaji sent his agent to the capital and instructed him to represent to the Sultan the wretched condition of the country and the benefit that would accrue to the State by granting the districts to him. He filled the pockets of the courtiers with gold and thus allayed the misgiving of the Sultan. When he built the fort of Raigadh, a few miles east of Torna, Shahji was asked to explain the conduct of his son. Shahji protested his innocence and sent a sharp letter of rebuke to his son ordering him to stop his ruinous designs.

Sivaji is reprimanded by Shahji.

In the meantime, Sivaji got possession of Kondana by bribery and the fort of Purandar by a mean artifice. The late commander of the fort having died, his eldest son took over charge. But the two younger sons claimed an equal right with their elder brother and wished Sivaji to settle their differences. At this time Sivaji, giving out that he was going towards Supa, encamped near Purandar and, as he anticipated, he was invited into the fort. When the eldest of the three had retired to rest, Sivaji represented to the other two brothers

Sivaji's mean trick.

2. K. K. II, 113-114.
3. Chitnis, 62-63.

that the best expedient for inducing their brother to submit to a fair arbitration, was to make him prisoner, to which the young men eagerly acceded. Sivaji, in pretence of granting them means of completely overawing the elder brothers' resistance, despatched a message to his troops below, and long before morning had a band of Mavlas[4] in possession of the upper and lower forts, the eldest brother a prisoner, and the two younger, with the whole garrison, completely in his power.[5]

According to another version, Sivaji wrote to Niloji Nilkanthrao, the qiladar of Purandar, that as his guardian Dadaji was dead and he was without shelter, he wanted to come and stay for a time at the fort. Niloji readily agreed and Sivaji went to Purandar with 25,000 Mavlas. Niloji had two other brothers who were very much discontented and were carrying on negotiations with Sivaji. On the feast of Divali, Sivaji was invited into the fort, but he declined the invitation on the plea that he did not wish to take part in the festivities alone. After consultation Sivaji and all his men were invited into the fort. For three days there were baths and dinners. One night when Niloji had retired to bed, Sivaji was awakened by the two younger brothers. Niloji was surprised and bound with cords. His wife Kaki was fastened to her cot. At the same time the younger brothers were also bound in chains. All men and women were sent down the fort, after being relieved of all their valuables.[6]

By such tricks Sivaji, by the end of 1647 A. D., had obtained possession of all the tract between Chakan and the Neera. In 1648 he surprised about nine forts in the Konkan and plundered several towns and carried away the booty to the hill-fort of Raigadh.

4. The word signifies "the Land of the Setting Sun."

5. *History of the Marhattas*, vol. 1., p. 106.

6. 91—*Kalmi Bakhur*, paras. 26-27.

Sivaji's depredations now caused some anxiety at Bijapur and Shahji was brought from the Karnatak in 1648 to answer for his son's conduct. He declared his innocence, but this did not convince Adil Shah and he was put in prison. The Sultan could not believe in the genuineness of Shahji's plea that Sivaji, his son, was out of his control. "Shahji," writes a chronicler, "sent a petition to Adil Shah expressing his disgust at his son............... The Vali of Bijapur, however, becoming apprehensive of Sivaji's power, asked Baji Rao Ghorpade, a resident of Madhal, to imprison Shahji by some means. Baji, inviting Shahji to a feast, made him prisoner. The Vali of Bijapur then gave order that Shahji should be buried alive. Thereupon Randaula Khan, who was a friend of Shahji, tendered his resignation. The Vali, afraid of the rebellion of the Deccanis and to please Randaula, countermanded his previous order."[7]

Shahji is imprisoned.

Sivaji had kept quiet as long as his father Shahji was a prisoner at Bijapur; but once he was restored to his *jagir* in the Karnatak, Sivaji again started his depredations. He was looking with greedy eyes on the tract of land in the southern Konkan, administered in the name of the Sultan of Bijapur by the Raja of Javli. Having failed to induce him to join in the rebellion, Sivaji devised a new scheme. He sent two agents to the Raja outwardly to bring about an alliance between him and the Raja's daughter, but in reality to assassinate him. The agents were courteously received by the Raja. In the meantime, Sivaji secretly sent his troops to the Ghats and himself proceeded in that direction. The agents demanded a private interview with the Raja and suddenly stabbed

Sivaji's heinous crime.

7. *Bisat-ul-Ghanaim* by Lachhmi Narain, 69. The imprisonment of Shahji as a reprisal for his son's behaviour is confirmed by Khafi Khan; also by Persian M.S. 192, (B. M.) F. 41.

him to death. Fleeing from the fort, they soon joined Sivaji who attacked the fort on all sides. The surprise was sudden ; but the sons of the Raja put up a stubborn resistance. They were ultimately taken prisoners and were, later on, condemned to death, 1655, A. D.[8]

The murder of the Raja of Javli is confirmed by Maratha sources. (*Sabhasad*, 6-7). The ladies of the Raja were confined for several days at Purandar and then set free,[9] while the sons of the Raja were given a bath and a sumptuous meal and then beheaded at Nimgaza to the south of Poona.[10]

Sivaji's curious mentality.

Sivaji was afflicted with a curious mental phenomenon. Whenever he planned deliberate murders, he always invoked the blessings of the gods. While the assassins were busy at Javli, Sivaji was waiting at Mahabaleshwar. " As soon as he received the news (of the murder), he paid his respects to the god, and then proceeded to Javli by the Nisni pass."[11] On another occasion, when he was devising Afzal's murder, he received the unsought blessings of a goddess. "Siva himself was in a terrible dilemma............ A legend tells us that the care-worn chieftain's sleep was broken by a vision of the goddess Bhavani who urged him to confront Afzal boldly and promised him victory and her full protection."[12]

8. *Bisat-ul-Ghanaim*, 40.

9. Chitnis, 81-82.

10. *91—Kalmi-Bakhar*, paras 28-29.

11. Chitnis, 82.

12. Sarkar, iv, 36.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar condones the murder at Javli. (Shivaji, 53). He says, " His (*i.e.*, Sivaji's) power was then in its infancy, and *he could not afford to be scrupulous* in the choice of the means of strengthening himself." If the foregoing rule of ethics is a sound one, then *mutatis mutandis*, Aurangzeb should not be blamed for his alleged misdeeds.

In connection with the murder of the Raja of Javli, it may be mentioned here that Mr. Vaidya, the learned author of the *Downfall of Hindu India*, says in a note (p. 109) that the Raja of Javli, supposed to have been murdered, was an adopted minor at that time, and he escaped to Rairi when Javli was attacked. This view is alleged to be based on a historical document. But many documents have been ' discovered ' recently and they are spurious.

Shivaji tries to bargain with Aurangzeb.

When Aurangzeb, as Governor of the Deccan, was preparing to invade Bijapur in 1657, Sivaji, professing obedience to the Mughals, had requested the retention of the territories he had wrested from Bijapur. "As the son of Sahu (*i. e.*, Sivaji)", writes Aurangzeb, "has sent an agent to the Court with a request that, out of the territory of Bijapur, if he is allowed to keep what is in his possession and is given a *mansab*, in obedience and loyalty, he would cede that territory to the Imperial Dominions, I have, therefore sent a letter to him containing certain conditions and have informed Sahu of the same. I shall let you know as soon as I receive the reply. If he accepts my orders, well and good; otherwise, our armies will trample him."[13]

Sivaji breaks his promise.

Evidently Sivaji accepted the terms of Aurangzeb. But as soon as he found the Mughal army engaged with that of Bijapur, he raided the imperial territory for the first time in 1657 and plundered the town of Junnar. Aurangzeb became furious at this treachery, but Sivaji soon offered submission and promised to be loyal to the Mughals. Soon after Aurangzeb left the Deccan to contest the throne. As the courtiers of Ali Adil Shah were fighting among themselves for division of power, Sivaji was in a position to advance his scheme of reducing the Konkan with impunity; by the end of 1659, he had the command of about forty forts.[14] The Sultan of Bijapur now opened his eyes and sent Afzal Khan against Sivaji. The Maratha leader employed the same trick which he had used before, and, inviting the Bijapur commander to an interview, treacherously did him to death.[15]

Treacherously murders Afzal Khan.

13. *Adab.*

14. Khafi, II, 116.

15. See Appendix D.

Sivaji's further acquisitions.

After the murder of Afzal Khan Sivaji occupied Panhala and some other forts. Rustam Khan was sent from Bijapur, but he was routed. The Sultan sent a large army under Siddi Jauhar and opened the campaign by besieging Panhala. Sivaji, who was personally in command of the garrison, extricated himself from the beleaguered fort by a clever trick, mentioned in Chapter XIII. Ali Adil Shah himself took the field and secured possession of the fort. At the close of 1662, Sivaji had the whole of the Konkan from Kalyan to Goa and the Konkan Ghat-Mahta, from the Beema to the Warna under his sway.[16]

Plunders Mughal territory.

When Sivaji began to pillage the Mughal territory in 1662, Aurangzeb appointed Shaista Khan, his maternal uncle, to chastise Sivaji. The Khan occupied Supa and reduced Chakan, and, taking up his residence at Poona, sent his forces in pursuit of the Marathas. According to Khafi Khan, Sivaji was so much harassed that he could not stay for a week at one place. (Vol. II. 172). Being fully aware of Sivaji's stratagems, Shaista Khan took every precaution to guard himself. No one was allowed to enter Poona without a passport and no armed Maratha was permitted to approach the town.[17] But Sivaji formed a sham marriage procession of a Maratha and managed to slip inside the city. At night Sivaji proceeded to the Khan's house on the mission of taking his life; but, alarm being given, Shaista Khan escaped, while his son and many ladies of the *harem* were killed, April, 1663. It is suspected that Raja Jaswant Singh, who was sent to co-operate with the Khan, secretly prompted Sivaji's designs. "It is said," writes Bhimsen, "that the raid of Sivaji was incited by Raja Jaswant Singh."[18] Aurangzeb, enraged at the Khan's

16. Duff, vol. I. 152.
17. K. K. II, 172.
18. *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, 25.

incapacity, transferred him to Bengal and appointed Sultan Muazzam, Governor of the Deccan, allowing Jaswant Singh to remain as second-in-command.

Sivaji's atrocities at Surat.

In January, 1664, Sivaji suddenly appeared before Surat, and not only did he plunder the town, but perpetrated all kinds of atrocities on the inhabitants of the place. The Rev. John Lescallot was the Chaplain of the English factory at Surat, and he was an eye-witness of the ghastly events. He writes, "His (*i. e.* Sivaji's) desire of money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whips them most cruelly, threatens death, and often executes it if they do not produce so much as he thinks they may or desires they should; at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both."[19] Barthelemy Carre writes, "The signal was given and the soldiers commenced the pillage. All on a sudden they fell upon whomsoever they found at hand irrespective of age or sex. They killed some of them .....Then they entered the houses and plundered them......There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people who had been detained in their lodgings through weakness or age."[20] In the words of Bernier, "he (Sivaji) rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches."[21]

Raja Jai Singh takes the field against Sivaji.

After the looting of Surat changes were made in the administration of the Deccan and Raja Jai Singh and Dilair Khan were appointed to crush Sivaji. The Mughal generals opened a vigorous campaign against Sivaji, and within a few months reduced several of his forts.

19. *English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, by Sir William Foster.

20. *History of Sivaji*, by Barthelemy Carre, translated by Dr. S. N. Sen in the *Calcutta Review*, February, 1928.

21. Bernier, 188.

Seeing the futility of any further resistance, Sivaji begged for peace, but Jai Singh paid no heed to his requests. Sivaji then sent a long Hindi letter, and subsequently offered to send his son to tender his submission. But the Raja insisted that he should come in person and unarmed, make an unconditional surrender and deliver all his forts. [22]

Khafi Khan says, "The Raja, paying no heed to the deceitful tactics of Siva, pressed his attack when news came that Siva had come out of his fort. Then trustworthy Brahmans came and gave solemn assurances on oath with all humility." (K. K. II, 181). When Sivaji was approaching the camp, the Raja instructed his armed Rajputs to be on the alert and careful of treacherous designs. [23] As Sivaji came before Jai Singh, the Raja stood up, embraced him and seated him on his right hand. With folded hands the Maratha chief begged Jai Singh's forgiveness, and added, "I have come before you like a servant; spare me or punish me." [24]

Treaty of Purandar.

It was eventually agreed that Sivaji should hand over 23 out of 35 forts, the lands of which yielded forty lacs of rupees, that his son Sambhaji should stay with the Raja, and Sivaji should return to his *jagir* but report himself as soon as his services were demanded. [25] It is clear that Jai Singh achieved

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22. *Haft Anjuman*, 54, 55. Sivaji sent several letters to Jai Singh. When no attention was paid to them, then Sivaji sent the Hindi letter, requesting the Raja to read it only once. Sivaji's anxiety to conclude peace is manifest. Yet a letter of Sivaji in Persian verse has been discovered by *Hindi Punch* (see its issue, dated 16th April, 1928) addressed to Jai Singh in which the Maratha chief boasts of his exploits.

23. K. K. II. 181.

24. K. K. II. 182. Sabhasad (p. 42) says, "Then Sivaji said to Mirza Raja, "I am to you like Ram Singh (son of Jai Singh). Save me as you will save him." According to *Dilkusha*, Sivaji said to Jai Singh. "It is not proper for me, the humblest of slaves, to defy the Emperor. I call myself your son, and I have come to my father without any mediation."

25. K. K. II. 183.

a remarkable victory, and that Sivaji's surrender was complete. Yet we are told "that Sivaji appealed for guidance to divine help, and the goddess Bhawani counselled him to make his submission at the time...... .....Seeing that he had easily defeated Afzal Khan and Shaista Khan, it cannot be for a moment supposed that Sivaji was unable to continue his contest with Jai Singh on equal terms." [26]

After the treaty of Purandar, Sivaji assisted the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur, but was unable to attain any success. On the inducement of Jai Singh, Sivaji decided to visit the Imperial Court, then at Agra.

Sivaji goes to Agra.

In March, 1666, Sivaji, accompanied by Sambhaji, set out for Agra. When he arrived near the town, the Emperor sent Ram Singh, the son of Raja Jai Singh, and Mukhlis Khan to receive him. On 12th May Sivaji went out for an audience. When he was ushered into the *diwan-i-am*, Aurangzeb cried out, "Come up, Raja Sivaji" (Sabhasad). The Maratha chief bowed before the throne and presented *nazar*. "Then, at a signal from the Emperor, he stood side by side with distinguished courtiers and nobles. [27]...........After standing for a while he created a scene, and, retiring to a corner, began to make foolish complaints." (A. N. 969.)

His resentment at 'poor' reception.

According to Khafi Khan, (II 190), Sivaji, mortified at his reception and feeling bitter resentment at being placed among the nobles of 5,000 grade, shamming weakness of heart threw himself on the ground. "Then very shrewdly regaining consciousness after a while, Sivaji began to

26. *Rise of the Maratha Power*, by Ranade, p. 194. Sivaji might have 'easily defeated' Jai Singh, as he did Afzal Khan, but, perhaps, Sivaji had no chance of repeating his old trick.

27. This is the account in the official history, *Alamgirnama*, the draft of which was approved by Aurangzeb himself.

complain to Ram Singh and threatened to commit suicide. Kunwar Ram Singh tried to pacify him, but without effect. When his disrespectful behaviour was brought to the notice of the Emperor, he was dismissed without receiving Imperial favour and bounty." [28] Sivaji was forbidden the Court, and guards were placed round the Jaipur House where he was staying. A letter was sent to Jai Singh asking him to report as to the promises he had made to Sivaji. The Maharaja was greatly mortified at the turn of events and wrote to Aurangzeb to forgive the Maratha chief. He impressed upon the Emperor the necessity of befriending Sivaji and treating him with consideration; he added further that beyond the terms of the treaty of Purandar, he had made no promises to Sivaji.

Sivaji escapes.

On the receipt of Jai Singh's reply, *guards were removed from the house*, and Sivaji was free to move about. [29] After a time, feigning illness, he began to send sweetmeats for Brahmans in huge baskets; and one evening, (19th August, 1666), he concealed himself and his son Shambhaji in one basket which was carried to a lonely spot outside Agra. When Sivaji emerged out of the basket, he found his trusted servant ready with swift horses. He took flight to Mathura and returned to Raigadh *via* Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, Puri and Golkunda.

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28. Sir J. Sarkar writes, "Sivaji was led to the foot of the throne, and made three *salams*. Then, at a signal from the Emperor, he was conducted back to the place reserved for him among the third-grade nobles, and Sivaji seemed to have been forgotten." (IV. 84) The question whether the grandees having a rank of 5,000 deserve the contemptuous appellation of "third-grade nobles" will be discussed later on. It is, however, clear from Khafi Khan's account (II. 190) that an elephant, jewels and robes of honour were ready for presentation. But Sivaji's dramatic attitude stopped further ceremonious proceedings. It was Sivaji who forgot himself by feigning unconsciousness.

29. M. A. 56; *Mirat-ul-alam*, 434-435. The Maratha sources are silent about the removal of the guards, and so is Khafi Khan. It seems that the guards sent by the Kotwal under orders of the Emperor were removed, while probably, the usual house-guards appointed by Ram Singh remained at the Jaipur House.

Ram Singh's duplicity.

Manucci (II. 139) distinctly asserts that the ruse of the baskets was suggested to Sivaji by Ram Singh, and that Sivaji had "made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Ram Singh." Ishwar Das also suggests that the escape of Sivaji was due to Ram Singh's connivance.[30] According to the Maratha account, Hiroji Farjand, who lay sleeping on the cot occupied by Sivaji, slipped out of the house after a time and went to the camp of Ram Singh where Hiroji secretly told him about the escape of Sivaji. (Sabhasad). There can be no doubt that when the Kotwal removed his guards, Ram Singh found an opportunity to let Sivaji escape. Aurangzeb became justly suspicious of Ram Singh and deprived the latter of his rank and pay.

The treatment accorded to Sivaji at Agra has been the subject of severe criticisms. Aurangzeb has been blamed not only for sending two "petty officers" to receive Sivaji when the latter arrived near Agra, but also for placing the Maratha chief among third-grade nobles. Of the two officers who were sent out to receive Sivaji, one was Kunwar Ram Singh, the son of Raja Jai Singh. He held the rank of 3500[31], and was the recipient of many favours from Aurangzeb. No one was better suited to welcome Sivaji than Ram Singh.

Sivaji's rank compared.

The rank of *panj-hazari* (5,000) was not an inferior one at the Mughal court; nobles having a rank of over 1,000 were styled *Umarai-kibar*.[32] For the sake of comparison, we give below a list of nobles who held the same rank as Sivaji.

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30. *Futuhat.*

31. *Alamgirnamah*, 917.

32. "To judge from Nizam's *Tabayat* and the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, *mansabdars* from the *hazari* (commander of 1000) were at Akbar's time, styled *Umarai-kibar* or *Umarai-izam*, great Amirs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amir is not restricted to *mansabdars* from the *hazaris* upwards. Nizam does restrict his phrases, '*ba martabah-i-imarat rasid*" or "*darjirgah (or silk or zumrah-i-umara muntazim gasht*," to commanders from *hazaris*." (Blochmann *Ain*, 237).

No Hindu Raja can claim greater eminence than the Ranas of Udaipur; yet in three successive reigns they did not have a greater rank than that of 5,000. When, after submission, the Rana of Udaipur sent his son to the Mughal Court, Jahangir granted the rank of 5,000 to Prince Karan.

Rana Jagat Singh was given the rank of 5,000 by Shahjahan and Rana Raj Singh was granted the same rank by Aurangzeb, when after capitulation he came to see Prince Muhammad Azam. (M. A. 208)

Raja Jai Singh himself held the rank of 5,000, and it was in recognition of his services in connection with the recent campaign that he was elevated to the rank of 7,000. All the distinguished Rajas were first given the position of four or five thousand. In fact, there was no precedent indicating that the rank of more than 5,000 was ever bestowed on a Raja in the first instance.

After the death of Raja Gaj Singh of Marwar, his son Jaswant Singh was granted the title of Raja and the rank of 4,000.[33] When after the treacherous desertion of Raja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb sent an army against him to oust him from his seat and conferred the Rajship on his relative, Rai Singh Rathour, the latter was given the rank of 4,000.[34] The Prime Minister, Fazil Khan, held the rank of 5,000. Mir Jumla, the Minister of Shahjahan, also had the same rank. When Mirza Qivam-ud-din, who was one of the brothers of Khafi Sultan and related to the Kings of Mazandaran, after the conquest of the latter by the Shah of Persia, came over to India, he was first given a rank of 4,000. Later on, he received an increment of 1,000.[35] Rai Kalian of Bikaner had only a rank of 2,000 from Akbar.

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33. *Tazkira Salatin-i-Chughta*, 20.

34. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 338.

35. K. K. II. 174.

For many years Raja Man Singh held the rank of 5,000. After having spent almost all his life in the service of the Emperor, he was raised to the rank of 7,000. *There was no Hindu Raja in the reign of Shahjahan above the rank of 5,000.* It is an important point to note that, though the Afghans were Musalmans and served the Mughal Emperors in various capacities, not one of them was given the rank of 5,000. It was Aurangzeb who first elevated Dilair Khan to 5,000 in acknowledgment of his services against Sivaji. When the Rana of Chittor concluded peace with Aurangzeb and came to see Prince Muhammad Azam, his sons Indar Singh and Bahadur Singh were given the rank of 2,000.[36] Sivaji might have cherished absurd hopes, but according to the *Basatin*, Jai Singh had recommended the conferment of the rank of five or six thousand.[37]

It will thus be seen that the grandees having a rank of 5,000 were not 'third-grade' nobles. It has, however, been asserted that the conferment of the same rank on both Sivaji and his son was wholly improper. But we find that when the King of Bijapur had turned against Shahji and Sivaji had applied to the Mughals for being taken under Imperial protection, Prince Murad had written to Sivaji that if he came to court he would get the rank of 5,000 and that *his father*, (Shahji) *would receive the same mansab.*[38] The conferment of the rank of 5,000 on both Sivaji and Sambhaji was, therefore, not an incident on which umbrage should have been taken.

Sivaji reached Raigadh in December, 1666. Though he had escaped from Agra unhurt and was safely back in his own country, yet he was not feeling very secure. He had ravaged the Bijapur territory with impunity for a long time, but no

36. M. A. 208.

37. *Basatin*, 428 (Litho). In the *Haft-Anjuman* there is, however, no suggestion that any particular grade was promised to Sivaji.

38. *Firman*, dated 14th August, 1649, (Parasnis collection).

sooner had he extended his encroachments to the Mughals than a huge army was chasing him all round and within six months he had to sue for peace. He realised the danger of a fresh struggle and decided to calm the Emperor's wrath not by the sword but by soft words. Sultan Muazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh were in charge of the government of the Deccan and through their intercession, Sivaji begged for pardon. He wrote to Jaswant Singh that he had fled from Agra in fear of his life, and, assuring the Raja of his loyalty to the Emperor, he promised to send Sambhaji to wait on Prince Muazzam.[39] The recommendations of Jaswant having been accepted by the Emperor, Sambhaji was sent to Sultan Muazzam with Pratap Rao and was given his original rank of 5,000 and a *jagir* in Berar.[40] Sambhaji was, however, after a few months given leave to return home on account of his tender age, Sivaji promising to send him back as soon as he was fit to render service to the Emperor.

Sivaji requests pardon.

The three years, 1667-1669, passed in comparative tranquillity, but in 1670, Sivaji opened a campaign against the Mughals. It appears that some money was advanced to Sivaji when he was going to the Mughal court and, when the amount was demanded from him, he recalled his representative, Pratap Rao, from Aurangabad and began to create fresh troubles. "Some *jagir* districts of Sambhaji," writes Bhimsen, "were confiscated in demand of one lac of rupees that were awarded to Sivaji when he was setting out to court. As he had, in the meantime, occupied certain districts of Bijapur and collected sufficient provisions, he called back Pratap Rao and his followers, who were serving at Aurangabad. Pratap Rao left the place without permission. Some of his men looted a few

Fresh cause of quarrel.

39. *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha.*

40. *Ma'asirul-Umara*, II, 348.

parganahs, and ran away ; and though detachments were sent after them they were never caught."

Sivaji again plunders Surat.

Early in 1670, Sivaji, breaking the truce, opened his offensive against the Mughals, and within a few months he succeeded in capturing some of their forts. But his great *coup* was his sudden appearance before Surat which he looted a second time in October, 1670. The Marathas not only plundered the city to their heart's content, but also committed acts of incendiarism by which half the town was burnt to the ground. It was suspected that the Governor of Surat was in league with Sivaji.[41]

As Sivaji's incursions became serious, Aurangzeb sent Mahabat Khan to the Deccan. But Mahabat soon proved a failure, and Bahadur Khan and Dilair Khan were sent to the Deccan about the end of 1671. From 1671 till 1676 Sivaji conducted raids in different directions, and the only important event of the period was his coronation on 6th June, 1674. In 1675 Sivaji opened false peace negotiations with Bahadur Khan, his real aim being to get a respite from Mughal raids. "After the death of Adil Khan," writes Bhimsen, "Sivaji sent a confidential agent to Bahadur Khan with elephants and other presents and implored the Emperor's pardon through his good offices. Kokaltash, unaware of his artful cunningness, forwarded his petition to the Court. His Majesty, who was then at Hasan Abdal, warned him to be careful of his deceit. Bahadur Khan sent Muhammad Said and Ganga Ram Gajrati with Malik Barkhurdar to Siva. That hypocrite (Siva), in the meantime, finding a chance, occupied the fort of Panhala belonging to Bijapur. On the first day Siva received the envoys with every mark of hospitality, but the next day he gave them

41. *Suite de l'histoire de Seva-gy*, by Barthelemy Carre, translated by Dr. S. Sen, *The Calcutta Review*, February 1928, p. 241.

an unequivocal reply and said to them "What power have you over me that I should make peace? Get out immediately from this place, else you will get in trouble."[42]

The invasion of the Karnatak.

In 1677 Sivaji sought a fresh field of activity. He had heard of the fabulous wealth and buried treasures of the Karnatak; he, therefore, decided to reduce the country which belonged to the Government of Bijapur. As Sivaji's treasury was at that time empty, he thought of a device by which he would be able to raise funds for the invasion of the Karnatak. He decided to get all the expenses of the campaign from Golkunda, by promising a share of the conquest. In this project Sivaji was helped by Madanna, the wily and treacherous Minister of Qutb Shah. He cared more for the interests of the Marathas than those of his master. An interview was arranged between Sivaji and Qutb Shah. Apart from precious ornaments, jewels, horses and elephants whicl· vere presented to him, Sivaji was promised four and a half lacs of rupees a month and the assistance of an auxiliary force of 5,000 men for the invasion of the Karnatak. One evening when Abul Hasan and Sivaji were sitting on the terrace of the palace receiving salutes of the army, Qutb Shah said to the Maratha chief, "I expect you to help me on every occasion." Sivaji "then, *with oath*, promised his co-operation and he was allowed to take his departure."[43]

Sivaji triumphantly marched out of Haiderabad and laid waste the Karnatak. But out of his territorial gains, he did not cede an inch of land to his ally, the Sultan of Golkunda. Sivaji did not feel himself bound by the sanctity of an oath or the inviolability of plighted words.

42. *Dilkusha.*

43. Sabhasad, 85—93. Mankar's translation.

Sivaji's death, his achievements and character.

After his return from the Karnatak in March, 1678, Sivaji was engaged in minor expeditions. About the end of March, 1680, he was seized with fever and, after a short illness, passed away on Saturday, the 3rd of April, 1680.[44]

From the day when Sivaji, a lad of seventeen, began his career till the moment of his death, when he was the undisputed master of a vast territory and formidable forts, he had thrilled the imagination of friend and foe alike. Surrounded by powerful neighbours, he acted first with such shrewdness and caution as not to arouse their apprehension. But once he found himself master of inaccessible forts, he began to exert his importance on the footing of his rising strength. In stratagem and diplomacy he had no equal; he was never baffled by the perplexities of any complicated situation. He met every emergency with such brilliant resourcefulness that he extorted admiration even from his adversaries. When he conceived a scheme he executed it with such consummate skill that he robbed his opponent of all initiative. He came and went like lightning; his movements were so amazingly swift that before people could recover from the shock of his visitation, Sivaji had covered a score of miles, leaving the scene of destruction very far behind. He had an almost uncanny *flair* for detecting the vulnerable points of the enemy. His information about the activities and dispositions of his opponents was so precise and thorough that he had no difficulty in outwitting them. Sivaji fully realised the serviceability of a spectacular element in the struggle. His attack on Shaista Khan was more to create awe than to achieve

44. Sir Jadunath Sarkar calculates that Sivaji died on Sunday, 5th April, 1680. (*Sivaji And His Times* p. 429.) According to Sabhasad, Sivaji passed away at Raigadh (see pp. 359 and 362) at noon, on Sunday, Chaitra Shuddha 15, of the Shalivahana year, 1602. But according to *Jedhe Chronology*, Chaitra Shuddha 15, 1602, is a Saturday, (see also, *Source Book of Maratha History*, p. 41).

any solid gain. He was a man of towering personality. Seated on his grey charger with a long sword in his hand, he not only commanded stern obedience, but excited unflinching loyalty and supreme devotion to his person. In personal bravery and valour he had few rivals. His unshaken fortitude, his undaunted courage, his keen discernment, the superiority of his mental vigour, and the incredible daring of his plans thrill us with admiration. Around his personality, the Marathas threw the tendrils of their hopes and wove the fabric of their dreams. He created a new epoch in Indian history and changed the destiny of his people. Sivaji had indeed lived an epic.

The germ of his success lay embedded in the intense rivalry and chaotic condition of the Deccan States. With incomparable tactical adroitness he played off one potentate against the other, always enlarging his dominions at the expense of friend and foe alike. In the torrential flow of his times, Sivaji did not care to be piloted by scruples if he could attain his objective by a shorter cut, away from the right course. He formed and dissolved alliances with such startling rapidity that he became the despair of his contemporaries. Though the latter did not put much faith in Sivaji's plighted words, yet, more often than not, they endeavoured to claim his assistance and keep him in good humour. For a good quarter of a century, Sivaji dominated the political situation, but the means he adopted for achieving his end were often of a dubious character.

Sivaji's unscrupulousness.

Men greater than Sivaji have not disdained to employ undesirable methods which, in many cases, however, have not tended materially to obscure the dazzling light of their fame; yet history has never failed to register its findings, however damaging. In the case of Sivaji we are constrained to record that the murder of Chandra Rao of Javli and that of Afzal Khan was each a piece of treachery unworthy of a soldier—

a treachery "that does not disappear in the multitude of his good qualities."

Muslim historians have denounced Sivaji as a bandit or a predatory warrior. The asperity of judgment seems to be due to the fact that in the beginning of his career Sivaji's dominating passion was the lure of the loot, as evidenced by his association with lawless bands and his extensive depredations in the Konkan[45]. Pillage was natural to Sivaji. It was an expression of the man and perhaps of the necessity of his position. His subsequent acquisition of hill forts, however, changed and widened his outlook, and he began to dream of wealth and power. But even at this period of his life, Sivaji was not fired with any idea of patriotism, nor did he dream of the liberation of the Hindus from the Muslim domination. As he enlarged his activities and success came to him, he began to aim at independent chieftainship.

Was Sivaji a bandit?

As ambition invariably allies itself with altruism, it may be that in later stages of his career Sivaji spoke of high ideals and his pre-ordained destiny. But the fact that he did not disdain to despoil his own co-religionists of their possessions is an illuminating comment on his early aims and achievements.

The government, as established by Sivaji, was on the whole benevolent. The Maratha chroniclers naturally speak highly of his efficient administration; the settled territory under his sway was, according to them, ruled with firmness and justice. The account of Muslim historians is mainly concerned with his raids and incursions. From them we only get a picture of pillage and plunder; perhaps, they were not

45. Fryer (II. 58) says about Sivaji, "........Following his barbarous courses of fire and sword, he merits no more than to be branded as a thief, witness those intolerable cruelties, devastations and deserts made by him everywhere in his range."

in a position to know the working of his administrative system. European authors, however, sometimes give us the other side of the picture, and it is not wholly roseate. Fryer says, "Seva in his government imitates the Moors in this, appointing a distinct Governor here for town and castle ....Into places of trust and authority he puts only Brachmins or their substitues *viz*, Pundits for physicians, Sfosdars (*i. e., fauzdars*) or Centurians, Havaldars, Civil Governors, Generals or fighting Bishops.........They are neither for public good or common honesty but their own private interest only. They refuse no base offices for their own commodity, inviting merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them ; always in a corner getting more for themselves than their master : So that trade is unlikely to settle where he hath anything to do.........*It is a general calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the complaints of the poor people that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the slavery of Sevagi*: The Desais have land imposed upon them at double the former rates and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if monied men) they are carried to prison, there they are famished almost to death ; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is; they have now in Limbo several Brachmins, whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red-hot, drub them on the shoulders to extreme anguish, (though according to their law, it is forbidden to strike a Brachmin).

However, under the King of Visiapour the taxations were much milder, and they lived with far greater comfort."

According to Khafi Khan (II. 272), Sivaji was very strict in maintaining the honour of women prisoners of war and always respected the sanctity of the Quran. Apart from an accusation made by Afzal Khan in his message to Sivaji (*Shiva-Bharat*, Chapter XVIII), we have not come across any account of demolition of mosques by the latter. Manucci (II. 119), however, says. "To make a mock of Sivaji, the

Mohamedans had killed cows in temples; in retaliation he, too, ordered the throats of pigs to be cut in the mosques of the Mohamedans. This was to demonstrate his valour and power of defying the Moghal armies ".

As Manucci is very much prejudiced against the Mughals and is too fond of exaggerating incidents which bring discredit to them, he is not a very reliable witness. But considering the relentlessness with which the Mughals and the Marathas waged war against each other, the possibility of the incident cannot be wholly excluded.

Though Sivaji retained predatory tactics till the end of his days, he was fully conscious of his might and power as an independent king. In the words of Elphinstone, (*History of India*, p. 647, edition of 1874) " though......he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti " he " ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman."

Sivaji and Mahmud.

In his activities and exploits Sivaji has been compared with Mahmud of Ghazna by an eminent historian [46] who has delineated the character of the Sultan and discussed his iconoclastic tendencies with sympathy. The author writes, " He (*i. e.*, Mahmud) was an intrepid soldier and a consummate commander, a lover of justice and a patron of learned men, a sovereign who laboured for the peace and prosperity of his people. As a man, Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and was not by nature cruel and avaricious; but was temperate and generous. He was also highly religious and of pure rigid faith. The great and solitary blemish in his character was, according to our view, his bigoted intolerance." [47]

46. *Downfall of Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 106 et seq.

47. Ibid, 104. But see *The Life and Times of Mahmud of Ghazna*, by Dr. Muhammad Nazim, who defends the Sultan from the accusation of fanaticism.

While affirming that the tribute paid to Mahmud mostly applies to Sivaji, we think that the great blemish in Sivaji's character was his unscrupulousness and excessive use of finesse and artifice. Sivaji's military achievements will not bear comparison with those of Mahmud. Elusiveness was the former's forte—a technique of warfare, extremely harassing to his adversaries. Mahmud, on the other hand, fought pitched battles against the united strength of India, and every time won the day.

Sivaji and Rana Partap.

During the period of Mughal rule, it was the pride of Hindu India to have produced two men of remarkable valour and vigour—Rana Partap and Sivaji. While the one carved out a kingdom for himself and died in the full glory of ample achievements on the summit of Raigadh, the other was fated to breathe his last in the seclusion of his mountain fastness, worn out in body and mind. Yet the failure of Rana Partap is no less inspiring than the success of Sivaji. In personal equation, strength of character, moral fibre, rectitude of purpose and chivalrous behaviour, the Rajput far outshines the Maratha. An age-long dignity seems to cling to Rana Partap which at once commands respect and admiration, while in the proud face of Sivaji we seem to detect the acquired arrogance of a *parvenu*. One scrupulously sticks to a straight path, while the other lets himself loose, in the crooked ways of diplomacy. While Sivaji is governed and guided by the exigencies of the hour, the great Rana adheres to his imperishable resolve.

Though the Maratha king might suffer in comparison with the Rajput hero, Sivaji's life is spun of prodigious exploits, and the garment of power that he left to the Marathas was an heirloom to which the latter added heavy fringes of gold and silver. Inspite of his shortcomings, Sivaji's greatness must be acknowledged.

APPENDIX D.

SIVAJI AND AFZAL KHAN.

The murder of Afzal Khan by Sivaji has become a subject of considerable controversy. Muslim historians have uniformly condemned the treachery of Sivaji, while Maratha authorities, with the exception of 91—*Kalmi Bakhar*, lay the entire blame on Afzal Khan, who, it is alleged, first attempted to strangle Sivaji, whereupon the latter struck the fatal blow. Contemporary European writers support the Muslim version of the tragic incident.[47] Kincaid in his *History of the Maratha People*, and Professor Sarkar in his *History of Aurangzeb*, have discussed the subject in great detail. We give below somewhat extensive quotations from the two books in order that our criticisms should be conveniently followed.

(1) "Afzal Khan," writes Mr. Kincaid, "set out in September, 1659, from Bijapur. He marched due north from Bijapur to Tuljapur. This was and is still, a favourite shrine of Bhavani and was, as I have said, especially dear to the Bhosla family. Knowing this, Afzal Khan resolved to desecrate it. The priests suspected his intentions and before his arrival moved the goddess' image to a place of safety. Unable to destroy the image, Afzal Khan had a cow killed and its blood sprinkled throughout the temple. In the meanwhile Sivaji had retired with his troops from Rajgad to Jaoli. Afzal Khan at once altered his line of march and turned south-west, crossing the Bhima river at Pandharpur. Here also he desecrated the temples and threw the image of Pundalik into the water. The idol of Krishna standing on a brick was saved from his fury by the vigilance of the Brahmans. From Pandharpur, Afzal Khan marched through Rahimatpur to Wai, where he amused himself by preparing a cage for Shivaji's confinement. At the same time he sent a messenger to Shivaji inviting him to a conference at Wai. But Shivaji by now had some experience of Bijapur ways. Vishvasrao, a Prabhu by caste and the chief of Shivaji's Secret Service, had already made his way dressed in a fakir's garb into Afzal Khan's camp and had heard him boast that he meant to entrap Shivaji and take him prisoner to Bijapur. This information Vishvasrao at once communicated to his master. When Afzal Khan's envoy, Krishnaji Bhaskar, reached Pratapgad, Shivaji affected to believe his words and expressed himself as anxious to meet the Khan as the latter was to meet him. "The Khan" said Krishnaji, "will use his influence with the Bijapur Government to obtain not only forgiveness but formal cessions of all lands in your occupation." "If that is so," replied Shivaji, "and the Khan is really well-affected towards me, I shall gladly meet him at Jaoli. But I fear to go as far as Wai. Here I can make every preparation for his reception."

47. Manuci. II. 27-8; Fryer; Orme's *Fragments*, 7.

Krishnaji Bhaskar spent the night at .Pratabgad. In the course of it Shivaji managed to have a secret interview with him. Shivaji told Krishnaji his suspicions and implored him to swear by all that a Hindu held holy and to disclose on oath what the Khan's real intentions were. Did he mean, a Sivaji's spies had warned him, to entrap him, or did Afzal Khan mean really to befriend him at Court? Krishnaji confessed that Sivaji's suspicions were well-founded and that Afzal Khan intended treachery and nothing else. Shivaji retired to his own quarters and the same night he saw in a vision the goddess Bhavani. She complained to him of the desecration of the temple at Tuljapur and as her champion, she called upon him to avenge her. By next morning Shivaji had made up his mind. He knew now what Afzal Khan had really planned and he resolved that if Afzal Khan attempted treachery he alone should suffer. He publicly sent by his own officer, Pantoji Gepinath, a formal invitation to Afzal Khan to meet him at Pratapgad a fortnight later.................. When the fortnight had elapsed, Afzal Khan struck his camp and marched over the Mahabaleshwar plateau...........and the army encamped at Par, a small village at the foot of Pratapgad.

The interview was fixed for the following evening and the place chosen was a spot about a quarter of a mile from the fort walls. Shivaji had a shamiana erected and furnished with rich carpets. In the morning he bathed and ate his breakfast as usual. In the afternoon he lay down and slept, as if no danger awaited him. After rising he visited the temple of Bhavani and implored her help. Next he took into his confidence his comrade Tanaji Malusare, the Peshwa Moro Pingle and Netoji Palkar. They were ordered to post troops round the flanks and rear of the Bijapur army so as to cut off all possibility of retreat in case Afzal Khan attempted treachery. The signal for their attack was to be a blast on a horn.............. Shivaji then prepared himself to meet the treachery which he anticipated. He put on a coat of chain armour. Over it he put on a gold-embroidered coat. On his head he fastened a steel cap and wound over and round it a long cloth turban. Into his left hand he fitted the steel points known as *waghnakh* or tiger claws. He concealed a small dagger known as a *vinchu or* scorpion in his right sleeve. Then fully equipped he began to descend the hill accompanied by Jivba Mahala, Sambhaji Kavaji. In the meantime Afzal Khan was being carried up Partabgad in a palanquin. At his side went Krishnaji Bhaskar. Behind them followed a large body of armed men. Krishnaji pointed out that if the Khan hoped to dupe Shivaji, he had better leave his soldiers behind. Afzal Khan agreed and reduced his escort to the same number as Shivaji's. One of these, however, was a famous swordsman named Sayad Banda. Shivaji, seeing Sayad Banda, sent a messenger to say that he feared his presence and offered to dismiss one of his attendants, if Afzal Khan left Sayad Banda behind. Afzal Khan consented and Sayad

Banda halted. Sivaji then sent away his third attendant and accompanied only by Jivba Mahala and Sambhaji Kavaji advanced to greet the Khan, who had now entered the shamiana. Shivaji appeared to be unarmed and Afzal Khan, who carried a sword, thought that the moment had come to seize him. He addressed Shivaji in insulting tones and asked how a common peasant like him came to have the riches displayed in the shamiana. Shivaji replied hotly that that was his business, and not Afzal Khan's, whose father was nothing but a cook. The Khan, enraged at the taunt, seized with the left arm Shivaji by the neck, forcing his head under his armpit. At the same time the Khan with his sword tried to stab him in the stomach. The coat of mail turned the point. Nevertheless Shivaji was in great peril. Although expecting treachery he had yet been taken unawares................ Suddenly he thought of his divine mission. Hope and courage returned. He swung his left arm round the Khan's waist as he raised his right arm for a second blow. The steel claws bit deeply into the Khan's stomach and as he winced with the pain, Shivaji freed his right arm and drove the dagger into his enemy's back. Afzal Khan broke away and aimed a mighty blow at Shivaji's head, which cut through the turban and the steel cap, inflicting a slight scalp wound. Shivaji snatched a sword from Jivba Mahala, who carried two and struck the Khan through his left shoulder. He fell calling for help. Sayad Banda and his other attendants rushed up. They placed Afzal Khan in a palanquin and tried to carry him back to Par. But Shivaji and Jivba Mahala ovorcame Sayad Banda ; and Sambhaji Kavaji, running after the palki bearers slasned at their legs until they dropped their burden. Sambhaji then cut off the dying man's head and brought it back to Shivaji. The latter blew his horn. From every corner of the thick juugle poured out bodies of foot-soldiers and squadrons of cavalry. The battle was ended in a few seconds"—(*History of the Marathä People*, I. p. 159 et seq).

(3) Professor Sarkar (Vol. IV. p. 35) says, "A force of 10,000 cavalry was sent from Bijapur under command of Afzal Khan.......... Popular report had raised the strength of Shiva's Mavle infantry to 60,000 as the result of his conquest of Javli, and he had also enlisted a regiment of valuable Pathan mercenaries from the disbanded soldiery of Bijapur. Afzal Khan, therefore, did not prefer an open contest of force with Shiva. Indeed, he was instructed by the Dowager Queen to effect the capture, or murder of Shiva by "pretending friendship" with him and offering to secure his pardon from Adil Shah." The author in support of his arguments quotes the following letter from factors at Rajapur :—"Against Shivaji the Queen this year sent Abdullah Khan with an army of 10,000 horse and foot and because she knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy, which he did. And the other (*i.e.*, Shivaji), whether through intelligence or suspicion it is not known, dissembled his love toward him" (*Factors at Rajapur to Council at Surat*, 10 October, 1659.)

The narrative is continued thus, "He (Afzal Khan) planned to effect his purpose by a combination of "frightfulness" and diplomacy. From Bijapur the expedition marched northwards to Tuljapur, and then turned due west towards Pratapgarh. On the way he committed sacrileges on the gods and outrages on the Brahmans at Tuljapur Manikeshwar, Pandharpur and Mahadev, and in a fortnight reached Wai, 20 miles north of Satara...... . ...Afzal sent his land-steward Krishnaji Bhaskar to Sivaji with a very alluring message. .... Shiva treated him with respect, and at night met him in secrecy and solemnly appealed to him as a Hindu and a priest to tell him of the Khan's real intentions. Krishnaji yielded so far as to hint that the Khan seemed to harbour some plan of mischief. Sivaji then sent the envoy back with Gopinath Pant, his own agent, agreeing to Afzal's proposal of an interview, provided that the Khan gave him a solemn assurance of safety. Gopinath learnt by a liberal use of bribes that Afzal's officers were convinced that "he had so arranged matters that Shiva would be arrested at the interview, as he was too cunning to be caught by open fight." On his return, Gopinath told it all to Shiva and urged him to anticipate the treacherous attack on himself by murdering Afzal at a lonely meeting and then surprising his army." ....Afzal Khan had started from his camp at Par, a village one mile below Pratapgarh, with a strong escort of more than a thousand musketeers. Gopinath objected to it, saying that such a display of force would scare away Shiva from the interview, and that the Khan should, therefore, take with himself only two bodyguards exactly as Shivaji had done. So, he left his troops some distance behind and made his way up the hill-path in a palki accompanied by two soldiers and a famous swordsman named Sayyid Banda." The meeting between Afzal Khan and Shivaji is thus described. "Shiva mounted the raised platform and bowed to Afzal. The Khan rose from his seat, advanced a few steps and opened his arms to receive Shiva in his embrace. Suddenly Afzal tightened his clasp, and held Shiva's neck in his left arm with an iron grip, while with his right hand he drew his long straight-bladed dagger and struck at the side of Shiva. Shiva groaned in agony as he felt himself being strangled. But in a moment he recovered from the surprise, passed his left arm round the Khan's waist and tore his bowels open with a blow of the steel claws. Then with the right hand he drove the *bichwa* into Afzal's side. The wounded man relaxed his hold, and Shivaji wrested himself free, jumped down from the platform, and ran towards his own men outside. The Khan cried out, "Treachery! Murder! Help! Help!" The attendants ran up from both sides. Sayyid Banda faced Shiva with his long straight sword and cut his turban in twain, making a deep dint in the steel cap beneath. Shiva quickly took a rapier from Jiv Mahala and began to parry. But Jiv Mahala came round with his other sword hacked off the right arm of the Sayyid, and then killed him................Shambhaji Kavji then cut off Afzal's head, which he carried in triumph to Shiva."

Both, Kincaid and Sarkar, have wholly discarded the authority of Persian histories and have unhesitatingly accepted the version of the Maratha chroniclers. Apart from the improbability of the story as related by the Marathas, the discrepancies are such as make their narrative doubly doubtful.

If we assume for a moment that Afzal Khan formed a plot to murder Shivaji then, he must have framed a scheme for the purpose and formed a plan of action. He must have taken some one in confidence and given necessary instructions to the officers of his army. If he did not give any instructions, nor did he post his army in such a way as to be ready for instant action, then there can be only one possible assumption ; that, relying on his own physical strength, Afzal disdained to have any helper and determined to murder Shivaji single-handed. It is admitted on all hands that when Afzal Khan started for the interview he had about a thousand musketeers with him, and the moment Shivaji's envoy objected to such a display of force, he left his soldiers behiud. We have not been told of any act done by Afzal Khan which might even remotely suggest any preparation on his part. The alleged "plot" has not been unravelled before us, nor are we told in what manner he wanted to achieve his fell purpose. The fact that he left his army behind conclusively proves his *bona fides.* It also proves that whatever scheme he might have formed in his own mind, he did not divulge it to any of his officers, and had no intention of using his army. If his officers were ignorant of his deep-laid plot, how was it possible for Gopinath Pant, Shivaji's envoy, to know the secret by bribing them. That Afzal Khan was so foolish as to publicly boast of entrapping Shivaji, and that before a fakir, who was Shiva's spy, is a story that puts too much strain on our credulence.

If any further proof were needed of Afzal's *bona fides*, it is found in the fact that he left Sayyid Banda, a famous swordsman, behind, when his presence was objected to. Is it believable that with two attendants on each side, Afzal determined to murder Shivaji—a man of great strength and a hero of many battles ? Could any one hope to escape unhurt in an encounter where men of equal strength and valour were pitted against each other? It cannot be supposed that Afzal Khan could have hoped to be allowed to escape with his whole flesh after the discovery of the treachery. Afzal Khan must have thought out every detail of the encounter before starting on the perilous venture, and yet we are not told how he could have effected his retreat, when his own army was far away from him. Even the most unimaginative plotter would weigh his chances, map out a line of retreat and would not light-heartedly enter upon a venture absolutely unaided, when the strength of contending parties is about level.

Why should Afzal adopt the dubious process of twisting Shiva's neck, when he could have very well asked his two attendants to deal a fatal blow when he held his opponent in fond embrace ? Why did not Afzal's attendants fall on Shiva like lightning when they saw the latter in their master's

grip ? Did not the fact that Sayyid Banda's presence was objected to by Shiva himself raise suspicion in Afzal's mind that his adversary was on the alert ? Was not Afzal's army taken by surprise and annihilated by the sudden attack of the Marathas ?——these are the points that disprove the theory of plotting by Afzal Khan. According to Professor Sarkar, Afzal held Shiva's neck in his left arm at the moment when he was embracing the latter; while according to Kincaid, there was exchange of hot words between the two and then Afzal seized Sivaji by the neck. If the Khan, enraged at Sivaji's taunt, caught hold of his neck, where was the treachery ? Apart from this, does it appeal to commonsense that Afzal would have addressed Shivaji in insulting tones, when he wanted to murder him by treachery ?

Both Ranade and Sarkar aver that Afzal "committed sacrileges on the gods and outrages on the Brahmans at Tuljapur and elsewhere. But according to Kincaid, the priests of the temple, had before Afzal's arrival, removed the goddess' image to a place of safety. Mr. Kincaid in an appendix, page, 164, rejects Khafi Khan's account on the ground that his story could not have been based on any eye-witness's evidence as all the Musalmans near enough to see what happened died with Afzal Khan. Kincaid presumes that Khafi Khan's account was based on Musalman witnesses. There were many palki bearers present at the spot and they were as good eye-witnesses as the Musalman attendants of Afzal Khan.

In the opinion of Mr. Kincaid, Khafi Khan's account should be wholly discarded, as his bias against Sivaji is such that he never speaks of him except as that, 'vile infidel' or "that hell-dog." If the use of choice epithets is held to be a criterion for excluding a particular version, then no reliance should be placed on Maratha authorities as well, as Afzal Khan, according to *Shiva-Bharat* (Chs. XVIII, XIX, XXIII) is "the wicked man, and a formidable demon."

In the opinion of Professor Sarkar, Afzal was so overawed by the reported strength of Shiva's Mavle infantry which amounted to 60,000, that he "did not prefer an open contest of force with Shiva," and has pressed into service a letter from factors at Rajapur. A general starting on a campaign always gathers information about the strength of his enemy and it cannot be supposed that Afzal neglected his first and foremost duty and started in pursuit of Shivaji in a spirit of sheer bravado without calculating Shiva's strength. There are no grounds for the supposition that Afzal should have been denied more men, had he asked for them. According to Shiva-Bharat (Ch. XXIII), when Afzal was encamped at Wai he sent his Captains who occupied Shivaji's territory. "Jadhav, Pandhre, Kharate, Hilal and Habshi Saif Khan took forcible possession of Supa, Shirwal, Sasvad, Pona district and Talkonkan, which was full of enemy soldiers." It is thus evident that Afzal Khan was amply equipped with men and materials, and

had no reason to be afraid of Shivaji. Manucci's account throws a clear light on the situation " ...... The King of Bijapur.........determined to send against him a famous General called Afzal Can. This man pursued Shivaji so persistently that the rebel was forced to take refuge in the mountains. Finding himself powerless for further resistance, he resorted to a trick." (II—27). Khafi Khan says, (II—116) " When Afzal Khan pushed Shivaji in a tight corner, the mischievous man, by way of deceit and treachery requested the Khan to forgive his faults and accept his submission." Professor Sarkar lays stress on Afzal's inability to cope with Shivaji. But the allegation is not based on actual facts. (See *Basatin*. 370). The truth is that it was Shivaji who always avoided an open contest, and ever sought to gain his end by unsavoury tricks.

As for the letter of the Dowager Queen to " pretend friendship," even if its genuineness is accepted, it means nothing more than that the Bijapur General should try to gain his end by diplomacy. But where is the slightest justification to hold that Afzal "was instructed by the Dowagar Queen to effect the capture or murder of Shiva by 'pretending friendship' ? " Does not 'pretending friendship' mean that Afzal should, posing as Shiva's friend, try to impress on the latter that he was willing to act as an intermediary between him and the Sultan and thus bring about a peaceful settlement? Professor Sarkar has drawn the most unwarranted inference from the Queen's letter, the contents of which were known only in the form of a rumour.

Mr. Kincaid, quoting a passage from an interview between Shivaji and Ramdas, draws an amazing inference. " Shivaji spoke to Ramdas as follows :—

" When at our interview Abdulla (*i. e.* Afzal Khan) caught me under his arm, I was not in my senses and but for the Swami's blessing I could not have escaped from his grip." Now had Shivaji torn Afzal Khan's stomach open with his *waghnakh* and stabbed him with his dagger, he would have been in no danger and would have needed no blessing. A man as badly wounded as Afzal Khan had been was bound to collapse in a minute or two. From this it follows that Afzal Khan must have seized him when unwounded. It was, therefore, Afzal Khan and not Shivaji who was guilty of treachery." (164) But at another place Mr. Kincaid has told us that *after* Afzal was mortally wounded he broke away from Shivaji and aimed a mighty blow at him. Says he, " The steel claws bit deeply into the Khan's stomach and as he winced with pain, Shivaji freed his right arm and drove the dagger into his enemy's back. Afzal Khan broke away and aimed a mighty blow at Shivaji's head, which cut through the turban and the steel cap, inflicting a slight scalp wound. " (*Ibid* 162). The author has contradicted himself and disproved his own theory.

According to Mr. Kincaid while Afzal held Shivaji's neck under his armpit, he tried to stab Shiva with a sword, while Sarkar maintains that Afzal used a straight-bladed dagger. But we learn from Shiva Bharat, Ch. XXI, that *before Afzal embraced Shivaji he had discarded his sword.* The relevant passage runs as follows: " With a view to inspire confidence in the vigilant foe, the brave son of Shivaji, the wily fellow (*i. e.* Afzal) gave his sword which he had been carrying in his hand, to his attendant.' Dr. Fryer in his *New Account of East India and Persia*, supporting the above version says, " At the day prefixed therefore, he (*i. e.* Afzal) takes with him his son and a selected number, which he credited would not be out-equalled by Shivaji, but the perfidious man had placed an ambuscade and with a smaller show in appearance than Abdul brought, waits his coming, who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him and prostrates himself before him with feigned tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his advocate to procure it. Going to enter the Choultry (*i. e.* a bungalow) together, he cries out, like a fearful man, that his lord (so he styled the General) might execute his pleasure on him and ease him of his life, which Abdul Khan surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly unarmed, delivered his sword and poniard to his page." According to Khafi Khan, (II—117), Afzal carried no weapon on his person.

If Afzal had discarded his arms before he came in physical contact with Sivaji, what possible trick did the Khan intend to employ for killing Sivaji? Strangulation is by no means a quick method of despatch, and it is impossible to believe that Afzal could easily, by pressing the neck, snuff out Sivaji's vital flame. A man who proclaims his nefarious purpose before strangers, goes into enemy's country without ample protection, leaves his army at a distance and even discards his arms must be extraordinarily optimistic, if he hopes to catch his foe napping. Yet Afzal Khan was known to be a clever General of his time.

According to Shiva Bharat (Ch. XVII), and Sabhasad, p. 8, Afzal Khan *publicly* boasted to bring Sivaji as a prisoner before Adil Shah. When Afzal reached Wai " he amused himself by preparing a cage for Sivaji's confinement. At the same time he sent a messenger to Sivaji inviting him to a conference at Wai." (Kincaid, I. 158) Afzal must have had a very poor opinion of Sivaji's intelligence if he expected him to walk into the trap so openly prepared for him. From the Maratha version, however, it is at least clear that before reaching Wai or during his stay there, the Khan had no treacherous designs, as he was openly preparing a cage for his adversary. But we find that before Afzal had reached Wai, Sivaji had formed his murderous plan. According to Sabhasad (p. 8-10) " Sivaji, after receiving his mother's blessing, started from Raigadh. He ordered Netaji Palker to reach the ghat with his forces. "*I shall invite Afzal Khan*

to Javli," wrote Sivaji, "*meet him by pretending to make peace, and by inspiring confidence, draw him near me.* Come to the Ghat Matta and block the way." Sivaji's anxiety to lure the Khan to Javli was due to the fact that the denseness of the forest and the hilly ground facilitated the ambuscade. Afzal Khan was dissuaded by his officers not to go to Javli, but he paid no heed to their warning (Shiva Bharat, Ch. XIX). The Khan was thoroughly deceived by the blandishments of Gopinath, Sivaji's envoy. Sivaji's parting instructions to his envoy were as follows :—

"Have an interview with Afzal Khan: Demand a solemn oath from him. *If he demands an oath from you, do not hesitate to make it. Make him come to Javli by any means.*" (Sabhasad). Even before Sivaji left Raigadh, he was advised by the goddess Bhavani to have no anxiety, as she would get Afzal Khan killed at his hands. Perhaps Sivaji took the hint from the goddess and devised his plan. It is therefore clear beyond doubt that while Afzal was openly boasting to capture Sivaji, the latter was secretly maturing his scheme to implement the predictions of the goddess. The fact that Sivaji did not give any battle to Afzal *after* he left Raigadh proves that the only manner in which he wanted to seek the annihilation of the Khan was the one which he subsequently adopted, namely treachery.

It will be interesting to find out the real intentions of Afzal. When Gopinath Pant was sent by Sivaji to Afzal's camp, the envoy, by giving bribes, had enquiries made of clerks and officers. They told him that the Khan wanted to arrange an interview and *capture* Sivaji. When Pant went back to Sivaji, the latter promised his own envoy considerable wealth and the entire management of his *kingdom* if he would disclose the true and real facts to him. The envoy then said, "The Khan has evil intentions. By inviting you to an interview, he intends to seize you by treachery and take you a prisoner to Bijapur." (Sabhasad). Muslim and European authorities agree that, when Afzal went to the interview, he was not armed with any weapon. How Afzal could hope to capture Sivaji and bring him to his camp is a point that baffles imagination. The fact is that the Maratha version is so manifestly absurd that the narrative carries its own refutation.

Leaving aside the forensic abilities of Sivaji's apologists, the opinion of his contemporaries provides us with the prevailing impressions about Sivaji. When Maharaja Jai Singh was selected by Aurangzeb to conduct operations against Sivaji, he thought to himself, "Sivaji is *very treacherous*, full of wiles .... He himself killed Afzal Khan. How can I succeed against such a man?" When Sivaji heard of Jai Singh's mighty host, he summoned his officers and consulted them. They said to Sivaji, "You killed Afzal Khan and surprised Shaista Khan. *They were unwary Musalmans. The artifices adopted were new*, but the Rajput knows everything, and he will not be taken unawares." The above is quoted from

the same Marathi book (*i. e.* Sabhasad 36-37) in which Afzal Khan is depicted as a plotting knave.

When Jai Singh had reduced Maratha forts, and Sivaji came out to visit the Maharaja, the latter asked his Rajput guards to be extremely vigilant and careful of Sivaji's treacherous designs. (K. K. II. 181).

When on his way to the Karnatak, Sivaji wanted to have an interview with Abul Hasan at Haidrabad, the latter spoke to his Hindu minister, "It is not desirable to have an interview with the King (*i. e.* Sivaji). He *treacherously killed Afzal Khan*, defeated Shaista Khan, went to Delhi and exhibited his valour to the Emperor Alamgir. What shall I do if some similar untoward thing happens?" (Sabhasad, p. 85. Mankar's translation). The innermost feelings of Jai Singh and Abul Hasan have been revealed to us not only by a Muslim historian, but by a Maratha chronicler as well, and yet we are asked to believe in the innocence of Sivaji. The treacherous murder of Afzal Khan is a big blot on the career of Sivaji.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MARATHAS.

Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.

In the summer of 1681, Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, fled from Rajputana on the miscarriage of his rebellion and took asylum with Sambhaji, the son and successor of Sivaji. Before this, in January, the Marathas had raided the suburbs of Burhanpur and carried away a large amount of booty, massacring women and children. The inhabitants of the town sent a petition to the Emperor, who resolved to move his camp towards the Deccan. Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur in November, 1681, and, after staying there for four months he moved to Aurangabad. From this place Princes Shah Alam and Azam were sent to conquer Sambhaji's dominions from two different directions, while several flying columns were detailed to stop the raiding activities of the Marathas.

Minor operations.

The period between 1682 and 1685 was taken up with minor operations which resulted largely in favour of the Mughals. Many Maratha forts were taken, and two wives and one daughter of Sambhaji were captured.[1]

While Mughal forces were operating against Sambhaji, Aurangzeb repeatedly warned the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur to desist from secretly helping the Marathas, but the admonition had no effect; the two kingdoms were eventually annexed to the imperial dominions, 1686-1687. In 1687 the Maratha fort of Salhir was surrendered to the Mughals. Freed from Golkunda and Bijapur, the Mughal army, which had spread all round, conquered all the forts between Tattora

1. M. A. 245-46.

and Panhala. "The forts captured by the Mughals were innumerable."[2]

Sambhaji, his capture.

According to Manucci (II. 204), Sambhaji "was a man of unruly habits who captured other people's wives."[3] He was living in a state of perfect imbecility, passing his time in drink and debauchery. Muqarrab Khan, the *faujdar* of Kolhapur, learnt through his spies that Sambhaji was staying at Sangameshwar. Making a forced march, the Khan surprised the town and made Sambhaji prisoner.

"When Muqarrab Khan was approaching the royal camp, order was given that Sambhaji, according to the custom of Persia, should be dressed in a clownish fashion, and, seated on a camel with drums beating, be brought to the camp. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims who were sore with his cruelties were jubilant at the news. It is said that for four or five days, during which the approach of Muqarrab Khan was rumoured, people did not sleep owing to excitement and went two *manzils* to see the spectacle. For several days the people were celebrating the event like some festival......Some of the well-wishers suggested the propriety of sparing the lives of the prisoners and confining them in some forts on condition of their surrendering all the strongholds. But the infidel, knowing that in imprisonment life without its pleasures was not worth living, let loose a string of abuse."[4] Sambhaji showered invectives on the Prophet and used extremely reprehensive words. He was in consequence tortured and put to a painful death.[5] "The body was then flung on a dunghill and

2. M. A. 311.

3. Also K. K. II. 390-391.

4. K. K. II. 388-389.

5. 21st or 28th Jumada I, 1100 H=March 14 or 21, 1689, N. S. (See. M. A. 325).

abandoned to the tender mercies of the dogs. Thus did the licentious Sambhaji pay for interfering with others."[6]

Rajaram and siege of Jinjee.

After the execution of Sambhaji his half-brother Rajaram was elected leader of the Marathas in a meeting at Raigadh. This fort was soon reduced by the imperial officers. In 1689 the entire family of Sambhaji, including his son Sahu, was captured. After the fall of Raigadh Rajaram fled to the fort of Jinjee, where he was later on joined by other fugitives who had been captured by the Mughals, 1690 A. D. When the Emperor heard of Rajaram's installation at Jinjee, he sent Zulfikar Khan to besiege the place. The Khan having arrived at Korumkundah, about 50 miles from Jinjee, was attacked by a large army of the Marathas. Though the Mughal commander had a very small force, yet he engaged the Marathas and, completely defeating them, took several forts on the way.[7] The Khan, however, was not in sufficient strength to besiege Jinjee, and he asked for reinforcement. In the meantime Santa and Dhana, the two prominent leaders of the Marathas, with a flying column of a few thousand horse, were pillaging the country all round. Their raids and incursions became so daring that many tried and experienced Mughal officers began to anticipate disaster and felt nervous at the encounter. The Marathas captured the Mughal general, Rustam Khan and the forts of Partabgarh, Rohira, Rajgarh and Torna in 1690. They also captured the fort of Panhala in 1692. The Mughals on their part made no serious attempt to reduce Jinjee. From 1691 till 1693, they were busy taking possession of the territories towards the south and the east. But at last roused

Prince Kam Baksh's intrigue.

to the seriousness of the situation, Aurangzeb sent Prince Kam Baksh with a large army and ordered Asad Khan to

6. Manucci, II. 311-312.

7. Scott, II, 80.

follow him. "As the chief command of the army and all civil and financial administration was given to Asad Khan, the supersession did not please the Prince."[8] It appears that Kam Baksh was over-anxious to acquire the fame of the conqueror of Jinjee and secretly tried to thwart the plans of Zulfikar Khan and Asad Khan, the chief in command, and "even sent secret letters to Rajaram."[9] Some ambiguous behaviour of the Prince created the suspicion of the two officers and they tendered stern words of advice to the royal youth. The Prince kept quiet but nursed an acute hatred for the said commanders. The Marathas, when apprised of the situation, began to intrigue with the Prince, which event brought about a confusion in the army.[10] The siege of Jinjee dragged on for years. Santa with 20,000 horse started for the relief of the beleaguered fort and, suddenly appearing before the Mughal outposts, cut off the communications of the army so that no intelligence of the Emperor's movements could be had for several weeks. The report of Aurangzeb's death was falsely circulated by the Marathas, who made overtures to Kam Baksh to raise him to the throne. The Prince, beguiled by the Marathas, had some intention of confining Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan; but the secret being divulged, Asad Khan arrested Kam Baksh.

Arrest of Kam Baksh.

"When Santa arrived ten *kos* from Jinjee, Ali Mardan Khan marched to oppose him, thinking himself superior. Santa had a very large force, and in the action a numerous body of Bhala foot, which the Khan had hired, deserted to the enemy so that he was obliged to fly, but was taken prisoner."[11] Santa duly arrived at Jinjee but the followers of the Prince would not stir from their places. Zulfikar Khan, Dalpat Rao, and Sarfraz Khan however, engaged the enemy and repeatedly

8. Khafi, II. 419.
9. *Masirul Umra*, II. 94.
10. Khafi II. 420.
11. Scott II. 89.

defeated them so that they could make no impression. Scarcity and distress however prevailed in the Mughal camp. Asad Khan offered a large sum to Rajaram on condition that the Mughal army should be allowed to reach Wandiwash unmolested. Though the Maratha chief was advised not to accept an armistice, he had such wholesome fear of Aurangzeb that he acceded to Asad's request on condition that the Wazir should recommend the Emperor to make peace with him (*i.e.* Rajaram).

Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhsh were, however, soon recalled and Zulfikar Khan was ordered to prosecute the war.

We have previously mentioned how Prince Kam Bakhsh wanted to win the laurels of victory exclusively for himself, while the Mughal commanders were equally anxious to keep up their own reputation. Apart from this, we find that some of the officers had a curious ulterior motive of their own. They were prolonging the campaign against the Marathas, not because they were incapable of the task, but for selfish ends. It is suspected, for instance, that Zulfikar Khan was carrying on secret intercourse with Raja Ram for establishing an independent government of his own in the Karnatak, after the Emperor's death. "He might have taken the fort of Jinjee in an instant, if he had chosen to follow up his blow, but like many other generals, he wished to prolong the war. Indeed the total ruin of the Maratha power might have been effected with ease many years before, but the Umrahs delayed on purpose and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never-ending length, for their own advantage; also dreading that when the Emperor should have finally reduced the Deccan he would carry his arms to Candhar and Balkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of

Selfishness of Mughal generals.

the North."[12] The significance of these remarks is accentuated by the fact that the observations were made by a Hindu officer who took an active part in the whole campaign. We shall discuss the corruption of officials and their degeneration at the close of this chapter. For the moment we record the fact that no sooner were Aurangzeb's suspicions aroused than Zulfikar Khan decided to reduce Jinjee. He first secretly helped Rajaram to slip out of the fortress and then carried it by assault, January, 1698. [13]

Fall of Jinjee.

Before the fall of Jinjee, Rajaram had sought the mediation of Zulfikar Khan to bring about peace between the Mughals and the Marathas, but Aurangzeb would not listen to any overtures.

Santa achieved a great success in 1695 when the Mughal force under Qasim Khan capitulated, and the fort of Dodderi (in Mysore) was surrendered to the Marathas. A month after the above event, Himmat Khan, a Mughal commander was killed in action. By the middle of 1696, however, the position of the Marathas had weakened owing to a bitter quarrel between Santa and Dhana. Rajaram sided with Dhana who was, however, defeated by Santa and driven back to Maharashtra.

Dissension among the Marathas.

By the end of 1696, the Marathas were divided into two hostile camps, followers of Santa and Dhana respectively. Aurangzeb, receiving intelligence of the hatred that was smouldering in the hearts of different Maratha factions, had taken steps to exploit their quarrels and had sent an autograph letter to Ghaziuddin Khan for the pursuit of Santa.[14] The Maratha leader, chased by his own people from one side and the Mughals from the other, could not escape the tentacles that were closing round him. He was hounded from place to place

12. Scott. II. 97, Manucci, III. 271.

13. *History of the Marathas*, I. 314.

14. Khafi. II. 447.

with unrelenting vigour until he was surprised and slain in June, 1697.[15]

Rajaram sues for peace.

After his flight from Jinjee Rajaram had at last installed himself at the fort of Satara. He again made overtures of peace to the Mughals, but nothing was settled.

Aurangzeb reconstructs his army.

After making a survey of the entire situation, Aurangzeb decided to adopt a new plan for finally crushing the Marathas. The whole army was reconstructed and divided into two groups. The first under Prince Bidar Bakht and Zulfikar Khan was to attack the Marathas in the field, while the other under his own personal command was to reduce all their forts.

Conquest of Maratha forts.

Marching in October, 1699, from Islampuri, the Emperor came before the fort of Basantgarh which was reduced in three days. He then made straight for Satara and besieged the fort which would have capitulated early but for Prince Azam Shah whose connivance was bought for allowing the carriage of some provisions to the besieged. [16]

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15. Describing Santa's character, Sir Jadunath says, "........... his greatest monument is the abject fear he inspired in all ranks of the Mughal army." He then quotes Khafi Khan thus, "when the news arrived that Santa had come within 16 or 18 miles of him Firoz Jang (Aurangzeb's highest general) *lost colour in terror*, and making a false announcement that he would ride out to oppose him, appointed officers to clear the path, sent his advanced tents onward but then fled towards Bijapur by a roundabout route." (Sarkar, V. 127—128, text and note.) The learned author has wrongly translated Khafi Khan. The text is as follows, "When news arrived that Santa with 25,000 horse had come within 16 or 18 miles of him, considering the fame and success of Santa, *whose name was enough to make famous soldiers lose their courage and colour of their faces*, and in view of the paucity of his troops, Firoz Jang thought it expedient to announce that he would be going out to meet Santa." (K.K.II. 446). It is clear from Khafi Khan that Firoz Jang did pursue Santa so that he became separated from his army. (ibid, 447) Firoz Jang did not loose colour in terror.

16. Duff, 1, 321.

Rajaram fled from Satara, pursued by the Mughals. At last he reached Singhgarh where he died, March, 1700.

Death of Rajaram.

After the death of Rajaram, his natural son Karna was placed on the throne, but the latter died after three weeks. A son of Rajaram, by his wife Tara Bai, was then proclaimed king as Shivaji III. Tara Bai proposed to offer submission to the Emperor on the condition that her son was granted the right to collect Deshmukhi in the Deccan. She was ready to surrender seven forts, but Aurangzeb refused the offer and demanded all the forts.

Tara Bai's overtures of peace.

A month after the death of Rajaram, the fort of Satara capitulated after a siege of about four months. Parli fell in June, 1700. Panhala and Pavangarh were next besieged. The Mughal generals were so jealous of each other that co-ordination of efforts was impossible. At last through the efforts of Prince Kam Baksh and Tarbiyat Khan, the chief of artillery, the *qiladar* secretly accepted a bribe and delivered the forts to the Mughals in May, 1701. Parasgarh or Wardhan was taken in June, Nandgir in July, Chandan and Wandan in October. Khelna or Vishalgarh was besieged in December, 1701. The *qiladar* surrendered the fort after six months, having received a heavy bribe from Prince Bidar Bakht. Kondana or Singhgarh was taken in April, 1703. Aurangzeb then came to Poona where he stayed for about seven months. Rajgadh was taken in February, 1704, and Torna about a month after. From Torna the Emperor came to Khad, 25 miles north of Poona and remained there for six months. Then he marched to Wagingera, the Berad capital, in October, reaching there in February, 1705.

The land lying in the fort between the Krishna and the Bhima rivers was the home of the Berads, a race of aborigines. Sagar, about 70

The Berads.

miles east of Bijapur, was their capital, and their chief was known as Nayak, who was a vassal of the Kings of Bijapur. When Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur, Pam Nayak had resisted the Mughal advance. He was consequently attacked in 1687 and forced to surrender his kingdom and fort of Sagar. Pam Nayak died soon after the above event. After the fall of Sagar, the Nayaks moved to Wagingera not far from the old capital. Pidia Nayak, the nephew of Pam Nayak was given a post in the Mughal army. In 1689 he left the Mughals and joined the Marathas. Punitive expeditions were sent against him, with the consequence that he had to sue for peace on payment of an indemnity in 1691. But in 1692 again he reverted to his old habits. Firoz Jang was sent against him in 1696 and he saved himself by offering a tribute of nine lacs. As Aurangzeb was busy with the conquest of Maratha strongholds, Pidia found his chance and extended his territory. He was getting dangerously close to Bijapur. He was in a position to menace the important towns of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.

Fall of Wagingera.

After the capitulation of important Maratha forts, Aurangzeb turned his attention to Wagingera where he arrived in February 1705. The siege of the fort was immediately begun. Wagingera fell after three months, but Pidia managed to slip out of the fort at night. Nusrat Jang was suspected of having helped Pidia in his flight.

Aurangzeb's death.

After the capture of Wagingera, the Emperor came to Devapur, eight miles south of the fort. There he lived from April till October. Then he began his march northward, reaching Ahmednagar in January 1706. Aurangzeb remained there till death overtook him on 20th February 1707.

Diary of the Maratha War.

1682-1685—Minor operations. The fort of Singhgarh captured by the Mughals in 1684.

1686-1687—Conquest of Golkunda and Bijapur. Capture of Sagar, the Berad capital.

1687—Bangalore and Salhir captured by the Mughals.

1688—Matabar Khan[1] captures the forts of Patta, Kulang, Harish, Tringalvadi, Madangarh and Murdant in North Konkan.

1689—Mughals capture the forts of Trimbak, Raigadh, Panhala, Pratapgarh, Rohira and Torna.

Matabar Khan takes the fort of Prabal.

Sambhaji is captured and executed.

Rajaram's flight to Jinjee.

1690—Marathas capture Rustam Khan, and the forts of Pratapgarh, Raigadh, Rohira and Torna. Santa surprises the Mughal town of Khatan (25 miles east of Satara) but is heavily defeated.

Siege of Jinjee.

1691—From 1689 till 1691, the Mughals were taking possession of territories in the south and the east. Raichur and Adoni in the east, Sera and Bangalore in Mysore, Conjeveram and Wandiwash in the Karnatak, and Belgaon in the south-west were taken.

1692—Arrest of Prince Kam Baksh.

Santa and Dhana attempt to relieve Jinjee.

Marathas capture the fort of Panhala; siege of the fort by the Mughals.

Abandonment of siege lines before Jinjee.

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1. The exploits of Matabar Khan are based upon *karnamah* (I. O L. Ms.) written by Matabar's secretary, Jethmal.

1693—Dhana attacking besiegers (*i. e.*, the Mughals) at Panhala.
Santa, while returning from Jinjee, is defeated by Hamid-ud-din Khan.
Matabar Khan captures the fort of Sidgarh in North Konkan.

1694—Nothing noteworthy. Santa is pursued by Himmat Khan.

1695—Marathas defeated near the fort of Chandan-Wandan, and a son of Dhana was killed.
Rout of the Mughals under Qasim Khan at Dodderi, in Mysore.

1696—Marathas besiege Basavapatam (40 miles west of Dodderi). Himmat Khan is killed.
Hamid-ud-din Khan defeats the Marathas and relieves Basavapatam.

1697—Civil war between Santa and Dhana. Santa is killed.

1698—Rajaram makes overtures of peace. Fall of Jinjee.
Flight of Rajaram to Konkan. The entire east coast is now in possession of the Mughals.

1699—Rajaram is besieged at Satara; goes towards Surat but is beaten back towards Ahmadnagar. Sues for peace.

1700—Death of Rajaram.
Tara Bai offers submission to the Emperor.
Capitulation of the forts of Satara and Parli.

1701—Capitulation of the forts of Panhala, Pavangarh, Parasgarh, Nandgir and Chandan-Wandan.

1702—Khelna is surrendered.

1703—Singhgarh is taken.

1704—Raigarh and Torna capitulate.

1705—Fall of Wagingera, the Berad capital.

1706—Aurangzeb reaches Ahmadnagar.

1707—Death of Aurangzeb on 20th February.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MARATHAS.

What were the results of the Maratha war.

Aurangzeb had gone to the Deccan to check the growing power of the Marathas, but he soon found himself confronted with insurmountable difficulties. What were the net results of his long and tedious campaign? Were the Marathas crushed or did they grow into strength and consolidated their position? What were the reasons that, inspite of the regimentation of all the forces and the vast resources of the Empire, the campaign against the Marathas dragged on for over two decades without giving peace to the country?

The Deccan divided into three regions.

In order that the Maratha war should be intelligently followed, we divide the Deccan into three regions:—(1) Maharashtara, including Konkan. In this region were all the Maratha forts; Salhir and Trimbak in the extreme north, Kondanah (or Singhgarh) and Raigadh in the centre, Satara, Khelna (or Vishalgarh) and Panhala in the south. Konkan is the strip of territory between the Western Ghats and the seaboard. To the east of the mountains lie the plains of Nasik and Poona districts. This is included in Maharashtara. (2) Golkunda-Bijapur region, that is the territory, lying between the Godaveri and the Krishna. (3) The Karnatak. In this region are included all the stretch of territory across the Krishna lying in the centre and the east as far as Jinjee and Tanjore.

The Mughal front.

If we draw a line from Trimbak in the north-west to Tanjore in the south-east, the distance will be roughly over six hundred miles. This constituted the Mughal front. It did not stretch in the form of a line with trenches as the point of demarcation between the belligerents, as was the allied front during the Great War. The Mughals had to face enemies on all sides.

Apart from the Marathas, Aurangzeb had to reckon also with the States of Golkunda and Bijapur.

There were the Bijapuris who were ready to offer pitched battles in usual formation, while the tactics of the Marathas lay in evading encounter with superior strength. Their appearance before any place was as sudden as their disappearance from a battle-field. Emerging from their mountain fastness they would sometime surprise the Mughal convoy or, making a long detour through inaccessible dales and defiles, raid a town and return to their homes richly loaded with booty. The Mughals had to keep open a very long line of communication and had to protect the entire region between Tanjore and Burhanpur.

Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad in March, 1682. The period between 1682 and 1685 was taken up with minor operations chiefly in the Konkan. While Shihab-ud-din Khan was ordered to occupy North Konkan, Prince Shah Alam was sent to penetrate into the south by the Ramghat pass which is about 30 miles north-east of Goa. The Prince failed to achieve any gain and had to return back. Shihab-ud-din Khan, however, several times defeated the Maratha field armies. By the end of 1684, the Mughals held Chakan and Supa in the Poona district, and many Maratha forts including Kondana were captured.

Minor operations.

Convinced of the secret help of the Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur to Sambhaji, Aurangzeb turned aside from Maharashtara and concentrated his forces for the conquest of the two States, 1686-1687. Sagar, the capital of the Berads was taken in November, 1687. The entire region between the Godaveri and the Krishna was now in Mughal hands.

Annexation of Bijapur and Golkunda.

We have indicated above that during the period of minor operations some of the northern forts of the Marathas were taken but many of the important strongholds were still in their possession. Any Mughal force operating in the central

and southern Maharashtara would have had on its rear the belligerent battalions of Bijapur. Aurangzeb undertook to eliminate this danger, and when he succeeded in annexing the two Deccani Kingdoms, he turned back again towards the west to complete the task for which he had set out from Northern India.

Triumph of the Mughal arms.

The two years, 1688 and 1689, saw the complete triumph of the Mughal arms. While Matabar Khan was successfully reducing forts after forts in the North Konkan, the Mughals captured the Maratha capital, Raigadh, in the centre and Panhala in the south. The forts of Pratapgarh, Rohira and Torna were also taken. But the crowning feat was the capture of Sambhaji and his family. The Mughals had reasons to be exultant over their phenomenal successes. Within three years three powerful kingdoms lay prostrate at their feet; north and central Maharashtara was in their hands, and their dream of conquest was almost accomplished. Undoubtedly the Marathas still held some forts in the south, but it was expected that with the fall of their king they will yield to Mughal arms in due time. It may well be asked at this stage, as to why, Aurangzeb did not return back to Delhi, leaving his generals and governors in charge of the conquered territories.

Why did Aurangzeb remain in the Deccan ?

After the execution of Sambhaji, the Marathas elected Rajaram, the son of Sivaji, as their king. He was then at Raigadh. As the Mughals had previously besieged the fort and their pressure was increasing daily Rajaram thought it inexpedient to shut himself up in Raigadh. He slipped out and reached Panhala in the south. But the Mughals did not give him any respite and he fled to Jinjee. As the conquered territories of Golkunda and Bijapur were not fully settled, the flight of Rajaram supplied an additional ground to Aurangzeb for staying on in the Deccan.

The Karnatak.

South of the Krishna river lies the plateau of Mysore and the country known as the Karnatak. The last one is divided into two parts, Haidarabadi Karnatak and Bijapuri Karnatak, the latter extending as far as Tanjore. In 1677-78 Sivaji invaded Bijapuri Karnatak, wrested territories round about Arcot and made Jinjee the seat of Government. After the fall of Golkunda and Bijapur, Aurangzeb sent armies to occupy the two Karnataks. By 1689 the Mughals were in possession of Raichur, Adoni, Bangalore and Conjeveram. After the arrival of Rajaram at Jinjee, Aurangzeb sent Zulfiqar Khan to the Karnatak who arrived at Jinjee in August or September, 1690. Rajaram was awed by the arrival of the Mughal general and fled to the Raja of Tanjore. (*Sarkar, V.69.*)

Marathas checked.

In 1690 and 1691, the Mughals were busy in the plains of the south and the east. It was during this period that the Marathas captured Rustam Khan near Satara and took back the forts of Partabgarh, Raigadh, Rohira and Torna. But the Marathas did not have all their own way. After the rout of Rustam Khan, Aurangzeb sent Lutfullah Khan to Satara district who in spite of superior Maratha forces twice defeated Santa Ghorpare. "The first Maratha attempt at revival was temporarily checked and Dhana and Santa were driven into hiding and comparative inactivity for six months (October 1690—April 1691), and the Mughals retained their mastery in Maharashtara during that brief period."[1]

In the south Zulfiqar Khan began the siege of Jinjee about the end of 1690, while Asad Khan crossed the Krishna and occupied Karnul and Kadapa districts. As the Maratha bands were harassing the besieging force Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhsh were ordered to proceed to Jinjee, where they

1. Sarkar, V. 40, note.

arrived in December, 1691. We find that in spite of the recovery of some important forts by the Marathas in the west the position of the Mughals had not suffered in any way.

Set-back at Jinjee.

In 1692 the Mughals had a set-back at Jinjee and they had to abandon the siege lines. The responsibility for retreat rested on the Mughal generals who incessantly intrigued against each other, and thwarted the plans of their rivals. Even Zulfiqar Khan, one of the ablest generals of Aurangzeb, was suspected of nourishing private designs in protracting the siege of Jingee; while the attitude of Prince Kham Baksh was of such a dubious character that he had to be arrested.

Mughals still strong.

Nothing noteworthy happened during the two succeeding years. The scene of action still lay in the Karnatak. The rout of Qasim Khan at Dodderi in 1695, was compensated by the defeat of the Marathas at Basavapatam in 1696. At this stage dissension broke out between Santa and Dhana and a civil war ensued between the Marathas with the result that Santa was killed in 1697. About the end of the year Rajaram offered to conclude peace with the Mughals, but Aurangzeb refused to listen to any overtures. Though Aurangzeb's position has been depicted in sombre colours by his critics yet his refusal to conclude peace stresses the determination and confidence with which he waged the war against the Marathas.

There is no doubt that the roving bands of the Marathas made the subjugation of the country extremely difficult, but, till 1697, Aurangzeb thought his position so secure that he did not doubt the final overthrow of the Marathas.

Jinjee was ultimately taken in January, 1698, and, with the connivance of Zulfiqar Khan, Rajaram fled to Konkan. The entire east coast and the Karnatak was now in possession of the Mughals.

1691—1698.

From 1691 till 1698 the Maharashtara and the Golkunda-Bijapur region remained comparatively quiet, the only important event being the capture of Panhala by the Marathas and its siege by the Mughals. During this period the Berads created a diversion, but they were swiftly suppressed.

We have seen that after the triumph of the Mughal arms in 1689, the Marathas succeeded in taking back the forts of Partabgarh, Raigadh, Rohiri and Torna in 1690. No attempt was made to recapture these forts till 1700. Why was there a delay of a decade? The probable reason seems to be that in the opinion of Aurangzeb the retention of the strongholds by the Marathas did not then materially affect the current military situation. With the expected fall of Jinjee it was thought that the power of the Marathas will be dissolved, and the forts will easily come in possession of the Mughals. But this hope was frustrated by the treasonable conduct of Zulfiqar Khan who connived at the escape of Rajaram from the beleagured fort. The scene now shifts from the east to the west where the last act of the drama will be played.

After his flight from Jinjee, Rajaram came to Satara which was soon besieged by the Mughals. With the east coast clear of the Marathas and all strategic points in the Golkunda-Bijapur region in the hands of the Mughals, the only course left open to Aurangzeb was to invest the forts which served as rallying points to the Marathas. Rajaram again sued for peace but the offer was not accepted. Rajaram however, died in 1700, and his widow Tara Bai assumed command of the Marathas. She made overtures of peace to Aurangzeb but no settlement was made. Whatever may have been the havoc wrought by the roving bands of the Marathas, a belligerent who repeatedly sues for peace cannot be said to be triumphant. Between 1698 and 1700 the recognised head of the Marathas had thrice attempted to conclude peace,

but the Mughals were obstinate; they wanted peace on their own terms. At no time during the entire campaign did Aurangzeb's conduct disclose any sign of despair or despondency. He applied new remedies and new tactics but he was never doubtful of the issue.

Aurangzeb's unbroken victories.

Aurangzeb left Islampuri, his headquarters, in October, 1699, for the conquest of the Maratha forts. He had admittedly "unbroken victories from 1699 to 1701."[2] Between 1702 and 1704, all the important Maratha forts were captured; the last campaign ending in the occupation of Wagingera, the Berad capital. Though the Marathas subsequently succeeded in wresting back some of the forts, yet Zulfiqar Khan was soon on the scene and recaptured some of the strongholds.[3]

Hardships of the campaign.

The extreme severity and hardships suffered by the Mughals during the investment of the Maratha forts have been graphically described by Khafi Khan. Famine and flooded rivers took a heavy toll of life; the extreme difficulty of transport made the task well nigh impossible. Though the capture of Maratha forts caused unspeakable suffering, yet Aurangzeb would not think of turning back without achieving his objectives. Out of twelve forts that were surrendered only Torna and Basantgarh were taken by assault, the rest were taken for a price paid to the Maratha *qiladars*. It must, however, be noted that these *qiladars* made virtue of necessity. Realising the determination of Aurangzeb, they knew that they could hold out only for a few months. Almost in every case when the Mughals had battered a portion of the wall of the fort did the Marathas realise the danger of the impending fall; it was then that they thought it expedient to deliver the strongholds and receive some monetary consideration in bargain.

2. Sarkar, V. 200.

3. Scott, II. 120—122.

Cause of delay in reducing forts.

We have seen that in the course of one year in 1689 Aurangzeb had succeeded in capturing many Maratha forts. Why was it that after a decade, the Mughals found the task supremely difficult? For full five years they had to concentrate all their strength in reducing those very places which previously had yielded on slight pressure. The reason for failure is to be found in the degeneration of the Mughal nobles. Constant bickerings, incessant intrigues and extreme selfishness were the characteristic traits of the nobility in whom vested all power and authority. The pages of history are replete with the sorry tale of their commotion and corruption.[1] If any party succeeded in escalading any fort it was left unsupported with the result that it had to retreat with heavy casualty. Every attempt at daring initiative and individual effort was discounted by selfish rivals. The feeling of envy was so intense that every noble wanted the fame of achievement to himself, and, with this end in view, he sedulously endeavoured to bring to naught a similar attempt from every other person.

"At the present moment," writes Manucci, (IV. 115) "Aurangzeb purposes to clear out this place (Wakinkera), in order that the cavalry of the Marathas may not find a refuge there. Time will show what will happen; if this aged king is able to live on for some years, he will succeed in taking these principalities of the Karnatak. But he knows that his generals make no genuine efforts, and therefore he is obliged to go in person if he wishes to carry out his designs." "In the early days of the war," writes the same author, "he left the command in the hands of his generals while he looked after the administration of the empire. But finding that these officers did not act as he wished,.........he took the command of the army in person. It is, therefore, twenty-six years that this king has been in the field, and during that space of time has

1. K. K. II. 391, 485 - 489, 499.

effected all the conquests of which I have spoken." (IV. 251-252).

Unreliability of Mughal Officers.

Till the last decade of his reign Aurangzeb had occupied a central position, guiding the policy while leaving the actual task of conquest and subjugation to his generals. When subsequently he found that his officers were wholly undependable he undertook to carry on the campaign himself. But his plans were thwarted by his nobles at every turn. By his unflinching determination he succeeded in reducing the forts; but the moment he left the field the Marathas succeeded in wresting back some of the forts from the unwary and lethargic officers. We have, elsewhere, quoted Bhimsen and Manucci (ante, 387) who have recorded their indictment of Mughal nobles for unnecessarily prolonging the war. Their verdict is confirmed by Khafi Khan who rightly affirms that the war in the Deccan would have soon terminated had there been complete accord and unity among the Mughal officers [5].

Mughal gains.

At the close of Aurangzeb's reign the entire east coast and the Karnatak region were in the hands of the Mughals. "......By one method or another," writes, Manucci, "they (*i. e.* the Mughals) have hunted Shivaji (*i. e.*, the Mahrattas) out of the Karnatik, where he now possesses no single post, small or great." [6] In the Golkunda-Bijapur region the Berads had created some diversion but with the fall of Wagingera the chances of disturbance were considerably lessened. The occupation of the forts had deprived the Marathas of safe places of shelter, and it was expected that they would soon realise the futility of further bloody contests. Apparently Aurangzeb had achieved his objective. His mental attitude is reflected in the order of the day issued at Devapur in which he proclaimed the establishment

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5. K. K. II. 488, 550.
6. Manucci, III. 421.

of peaceful conditions throughout the Deccan and issued directions for inducing the people to return to their hearths and home.[6] There was, however, one disturbing factor that resisted the process of subjugation.

Maratha roving bands.

The Marathas realised the efficacy of guerilla warfare, and their roving columns gave enormous trouble to the Mughals. They were elu-ive as the wind. Living on loot and plunder and, free from he usual impedimenta of their opponents, the Marathas moved about with lightning rapidity. The Mughal nobles, on the other hand, weighted by heavy baggage and sick with nauseating jealousies, found themselves incapable of quick movement. They failed to adapt themselves to changing conditions of warfare. They stuck to old methods, while circumstances demanded that they should have formed strong mobile columns for chasing the Marathas. Aurangzeb had detailed one division of the army to deal with the marauding bands, but it proved ineffective.

Marathas cross the Narbada.

When Aurangzeb was busy with the conquest of forts the Marathas crossed the Narbada for the first time[7] and penetrated into Malwa as far as Sironj,[8] leaving ruin and desolation wherever they went. With 15,000 horsemen they made an irruption into Gujarat, defeating the *Faujdars* at Baba Piara ford.[9] Order was restored to some extent by Prince Azam Shah, but the activities of the Marathas did not cease in other directions. They formed themselves into different bands, each independent of the others and robbed and ravaged the countryside. The lure of the loot created fresh groups of marauders, and any one who could muster a few hundred men became a freelance.

6. M. A. 507; K. K. II. 538.

7. Sardesai (II. 355) says that Udaji Puar looted Mandu in 1698.

8. K. K.. II. 516; Manucci, III. 4:6, 501.

9. Later Mughals, II. 165; *Mirat* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) p. 360 speaks of 80,000 horsemen.

Treasonable conduct of Mughal officials.

The Marathas were helped by the Mughals in their depredations. As they had been hunted out of their places of shelter and safety they found refuge in the imperial territory where through the connivance of local officials they erected *gadhis* (small fortresses). There they left their families when they were out to plunder. When they returned from their expeditions they deposited their loot in the fortified villages where they lived for a few months as peaceful inhabitants.

Apart from the Mughal officials, the Marathas received an accession of strength from the Muslim soldiery of Golkunda and Bijapur. After the conquest of the two States, there were a large number of men who were without any employment. They either joined the Maratha bands or formed groups of their own for purposes of plunder.

Aurangzeb's success and failure.

The Marathas had at this period no organised Government of their own. Though Tara Bai represented the Maratha State and managed her affairs well, every Sardar was his own Government. He pillaged and plundered the country on his own initiative without rendering account to anybody. Thus the Mughals had to deal not with one Government, but with a number of groups who were independent of each other. The criticism levelled against Aurangzeb that he failed to achieve a decisive victory does not take into account the resisting circumstances which precluded any approach towards finality. The State of the Marathas as represented by physical possessions over cities, forts and towns was dissolved by Aurangzeb. Maharashtra with its capital lay in the grip of the Mughals, and the Imperial Standard was hoisted in the southernmost extremity of the Indian peninsula. So far Aurangzeb did succeed. What he failed to achieve was the suppression of powerful Maratha bands that roved about the country.

"The Emperor," writes Bhimsen, "having taken most of the Maratha fortresses, they were left without any resource but plunder." (*Dilkusha*).

Immensity of the task.

When we find that, apart from the army needed for the siege of different forts, the line of communication extending from Tanjore in the east to Surat in the west, a distance of about 700 miles, had to be protected, the immensity of the task is laid bare before us. As the entire tactics of the Marathas lay in avoiding as far as possible a pitched battle, there is no wonder that they succeeded in eluding their pursuers and disappearing in such a vast expanse of territory.

Manucci's bias against Aurangzeb.

Manucci has drawn a woeful picture of Aurangzeb and his doings, while the achievements of the Marathas have provided him with delightful ecstasies. Aurangzeb's 'hypocrisy' and 'mock sainthood' is a theme on which he has grown eloquent; his bias against Aurangzeb is patent enough. "The old king," writes our author, "still shows his eagerness for war by the gestures he uses on the march. While seated in his palanquin, he unsheathes his sword, makes cuts in the air, first one way, then the other, and smiling all the while, polishes it with a cloth, then returns it to its scabbard. He does the same with his bow, to show that he can still let fly an arrow." (IV. 100) The achievements of the Marathas, as related by Manucci, should be accepted with a grain of salt.

Activities of roving bands exaggerated.

There is no doubt that powerful contingents of the Marathas gave enormous trouble to the Mughals; their incursions some times became so daring that they came very near the Imperial Camp. Yet their mischief has been too much exaggerated and over-emphasised. Every conquest is followed by formation of groups which either resist the process of subjugation or take advantage of unsettled conditions for their own ends. For a long

time the Pindaris were a terror to the people ; and yet in the course of time they had to return to peaceful ways. We find that, notwithstanding the activities of the Maratha bands, the Mughals succeeded in collecting all the revenue and *peshkash* from the newly conquered territories after the fall of Wagingera.[10] The above fact has to be recorded with a view to give proportionate value to the achievements of the Maratha bands. The collections of revenue postulates condition in which the functions of the Government were by no means paralysed. The suggestion is evident that the Mughals had their hold over the country.

Aurangzeb's determination.

There is nothing in Aurangzeb's attitude from which we might detect even a distant suggestion of failure or defeat. In fact, till the very end of the seventeenth century, Rajaram and Tara Bai had made repeated offers of peace but Aurangzeb declined to listen to overtures. This conclusively proves that the Emperor regarded himself in a dominating situation and he was far from brooding over his failures, as suggested by his critics. Though there is nothing to indicate that Aurangzeb "felt himself utterly helpless" and was supremely anxious to extricate himself at all cost from what we regard a difficult position, he greatly erred in not compromising with Tara Bai in 1700.

His error of judgment.

The retention of a few forts by the Marathas would not have detracted from the triumph of the Mughal arms, as was the case with the treaty between Sivaji and Jai Singh. His extreme old age and the intense rivalry between his sons, all of whom were waiting to wage the war of succession, were factors that should have impelled Aurangzeb to terminate the struggle. It seems, however, that Aurangzeb took an entirely different view of the situation. With forts and territories of the Marathas in the Mughal possession, Aurangzeb thought that their roving armies would be dissolved in course of time. It is difficult to

10. K. K. II. 538; Manucci, III. 424.

speculate on the course of events had Aurangzeb lived a decade longer, but he passed away soon after the reduction of Maratha strongholds, leaving successors who had neither the capacity nor strength to manage a vast empire.

Dissension among the Marathas.

Apparently the Marathas seem to present a united front against the Mughals; but they were not free from internal dissensions. After the death of Rajaram an internecine quarrel had broken out between his two widows, Tara Bai and Rajas Bai, the mothers of Shivaji III and Shambhaji II respectively. Though Tara Bai had succeeded in gaining most of the Maratha generals to her side, a powerful faction was against her. We have previously related the quarrel between Dhana and Santa. After the death of Santa, his son Ranuji and his brother Baharji became sworn enemies of Dhana. Battles were fought between different rival factions on many occasions. In 1701 Ranuji and Baharji offered to join the Mughal service, and so did Dhana in 1703. But their proposals did not materialise. In 1706 Rajas Bai attempted to seize Tara Bai while a civil war was raging between Dhana and Santa's brothers Hindu Rao. Early in 1707, Baharji, hard pressed by Dhana, begged succour from Zulfiqar Khan and again promised to enter the Emperor's service. Nusrat Jang hastened to his help but when Baharji was relieved from Dhana's attack, he refused to come to the Mughals.

There were cross-currents of personal rivalry among the Marathas as among the Mughals; but while the Marathas were united in plundering the Mughal territory, the Mughals were disunited in defending their acquisitions.

Whatever failures Aurangzeb had in the Deccan it was due to the Mughal officers. Their loyalty was a commodity for barter and their duty was a matter of convenience; yet the finger of accusation is pointed at Aurangzeb who alone realised the impending danger and did his utmost to avert the rising tide of the Maratha power.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM.

Autocracy—the basis of Indian polity.

Inspite of researches of some modern scholars to discover traces of representative institutions in the ancient system of government, it must be recognised that autocracy was the basis of Indian polity in the past. This was due mainly to prevailing social conditions which precluded any growth of democratic forms of government. "The spirit and form of every polity are determined, in general, by the geographical and economic, social and intellectual environments. The vastness of the Indian plains determined, once for all, that society should organise itself not on the pattern of the classical city-state but on that of a country-state. The predominantly agricultural character of the country determined that the village should form the unit of society. The two together determined that, until science annihilated the distance, the people should not develop that intensity of life, that eager civic spirit, that keen political aptitude which brought democratic government into being in ancient Greece and modern Europe. The ancient and mediaeval Indian polity could, in the plains, assume only an aristocratic or a monarchical form................From the very nature of the case, therefore, the Mughal Government was an absolute monarchy, but it is childish to dismiss it as a mere arbitrary "oriental despotism." [1]

Hindu Kings.

India has in the past produced great and efficient rulers. The names of Chandra Gupta Maurya, Asoka, Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta Vikermaditya and Harsha conjure before us a picture of ancient grandeur and remind us of a mighty past.

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1. *History of Jahangir*, 81-82. Professor Beni Prasad has devoted chapter IV of his book to 'Mughal Government' which he has dealt with not only with great ability but with rare sympathy.

However benevolent in its operation, their rule was based on personal autocracy. The sovereignty rested in the person of the king and not in any corporate body of people. All laws flowed from him which he could make or unmake at his sweet will. He was undoubtedly guided by the opinion of his ministers, but there was no Council or Assembly which could act as a check on royal excesses. The *fons et origo* of Indo-Aryan culture and polity is no more enveloped in mystery. A study of available literature on the subject confirms the thesis that in ancient India people had no conception of a democratic state.

In the *Mahabharata*, there is no mention of a council of commoners; in fact, at one place (Sabha, V.) we find that during the minority of the king, only one minister, named Bhishma looked after the kingdom. In the Epic there is a direction for the appointment of seven or eight ministers who were to be consulted on ordinary business. But the most important affairs were to be discussed only with a learned Brahman who was the most distinguished among the ministers.

In the third Rock Edict of Asoka we come across the word *Anusamayana*. This term was at one time translated as 'Assembly', but the accepted opinion is that it relates to the tour of officials for inspection as well as for inculcating Asoka's Law of Piety.

The *Arthasastra*.

In the *Arthasastra* (see ante, page, 102) we find the following: "All kinds of administrative measures were to be preceded by deliberations in a well-formed council [2] in works of emergency, the king shall call both his ministers and the assmbly of ministers, or he shall do whatever course of action leading to success they point out [3] " the

2. The *Arthasastra*, I. XV.

3. Ibid.

king should despise none but hear the opinion of all ; [4] it is verily the king who attends to the business of appointing ministers, priests and other servants, including the superintendents of all departments ; [5] the king shall employ ministers and hear their opinion." [6]

From the above as well as from the *Indika* of Arrian, who says, " the seventh caste consists of the Councillors of State who advise the king, " [7] it is clear that at no time in history were the people associated with the government of the country in the Hindu period.

We do hear of a body of councillors in later times. In the *Harashcharita* a council is mentioned, but it met only once in five years. This council was for mere show as it did not exercise any power.

A well-known authority has summed up his researches thus : " In the Vedic evidence there is nothing to show the existence of any form of autonomy prevalent in villages. " The *Dharma Sastras* and the *Smritis* prove " that the village officers were not only appointed but also paid by the king and that in the matter of all kind of taxes the king used to exercise his supreme authority............................... The villages do not appear to have any sort of autonomy empowering them to discharge specific functions of administration. " According to the same authority, available literature proves " that all officers who had anything to do with administrative work were to be appointed by the king and to him they were at all times subject and loyal. " [8]

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, I. VIII.

6. Ibid, I. VIII.

7. *Ancient India*, Calcutta edition, 1926, page 217.

8. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay Branch, April, 1927.

Muslim period.

After Harsha's death in 647 A. D., India was divided into a number of principalities governed by Rajput chiefs who waged an incessant war against each other. In the period preceding the invasion of Mahmud Ghaznavi Indian polity did not undergo any material change. We do not come across any new conception of state or any novel ideas affecting the well-being of the masses. Kings and chieftains continued to be the arbiters of people's destiny.

After the death of the Holy Prophet, a Republic was formed in Arabia, and the administration was conducted on broad democratic lines. There was no distinction between the rulers and the ruled, and every one shared in the revenue accruing to the Government. But the new State was killed in its infancy by the Umayyids who established an autocratic monarchy. It should, however, be recognised that some of them at least attempted to maintain those principles of administration which were inaugurated by the early Khalifs. In spite of revolting excesses by some of the Umayyids we still find in their age that quantum of toleration, freedom and democracy which abounds in the spirit of Islam. With the transference of power to the Abbasids, however, the traditions of the Republic gradually, disappeared.

Baghdad was too near Persia which gloried in nothing more than the divine power of its kings. The hall of the Khalif became a replica of the Sassanian Court. Persian influence entirely predominated with the result that autocracy held its sway over the empire which, however, attained a high degree of material prosperity. The *Ulema* did exercise a restraining influence, but in practice the Khalif was all powerful. With the dissolution of the Abbasid power, other Muslim kingdoms rose and fell in succession, but none of them ever conceived the idea of returning to the golden days of the Muslim Republic.

Exploration of political ideas.

It should not, however, be supposed that there was "no exploration of political ideas" by the Muslims. The speculation of Mawardi (d. 1058) as to the origin of society is as thought-provoking as that of Hobbes or Rousseau. The *Siyasatnama* of Nizam-ul-Mulk (d. 1092), Vazir of Mālik Shah, the great Saljuq Sultan, the *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* of Khwaja Nasir-uddin Tusi (d. 1274), the great astronomer, mathematician and philosopher, the *Akhlaq-ı-Jalali* of Jalal-ud-din Dawani (d. 1502), have sought to base the foundations of the state on "ethical doctrine, somewhat after Aristotle." The contractual theory of society is denied by Muslim writers. Their thesis runs counter to the chaotic society of Hobbes or the free innocent society of Rousseau in which government comes as a later institution. According to Muslim writers government is coeval with society, civilisation being based on human co-operation and division of labour. [8-a]

When Qutub-ud-din Aibak settled down in India to rule over the empire of the Ghoris, he proceeded on traditional lines. He conquered new lands and consolidated his dominion. But apart from Islam and its democracy, he did not bring with him any revolutionary ideas about state-craft.

The Slave Dynasty.

Though the successors of Qutub-ud-din did not produce any new administrative formulae, the establishment of the slave dynasty introduced not only the element of choice, but also that of fitness for the high office in the selection for kingship. The acceptance of a capable man, albeit a slave, as a sovereign by the people, had opened up avenues of possibilities of political advancement. Legal heirs were gnored in preference to men of servile origin. Aristocracy lay humbled,

8—a. The above paragraph is based on a thoughtful article by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali on the *Religious Polity of Islam* in *Islamic Culture*, Haidarabad, Vol. VII, No. I.

and social barriers were obliterated. "While a brilliant ruler's son," writes Lane-Poole, "is apt to be a failure, the slave of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master. The reason, of course, is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents; even if he does, the very success and power of the father creates an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort; and, good or bad, the son is an immovable fixture; only a father with an exceptional sense of public duty would execute an incompetent son to make room for a talented slave. On the other hand the slave is the 'survival of the fittest;' he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service." [9]

There can be no doubt that the regime of Qutub-ud-din, Iltamash and Balban was that of 'vigilant effort and hard service.' But after the death of Balban, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs and the rest followed the age-long system of hereditary succession, and India was deprived of an unique experiment in history.

Rights of Kings in Islam.

The Khiljis produced a remarkable man in the person of Ala-ud-din. He was the first monarch on the throne of Delhi who refused to follow the principles of Islamic Law. His own will and discretion was his guiding star. His severity and stern conduct gave peace and repose to the country but he inflicted great hardship and suffering on the people. Ala-ud-din's political theory is indicated by the questions which he addressed to Qazi Mughis-ud-din. He enquired whether the great wealth which he had acquired with so much bloodshed at Devagir belonged to him. The Qazi replied, "If I must speak the truth, treasure secured at Devagir was obtained by the army of Islam, and as such belongs to the public treasury."

9. *Mediaeval India*, 64.

The Sultan then enquired about the rights of the king and his children upon the public treasury. The Qazi said, "If Your Majesty will be guided by the example of the (first four) Khalifs, then you will take for yourself and your establishment the same sum as you have given to each soldier, namely, two-hundred and thirty-four *tankas.* If you would follow a middle course on the ground that you should not put yourself on the same level as the army in general, then you may take for yourself as much as you have allotted to your chief officers. If your Majesty is guided by the opinion of the politicians, then you will take from the treasury more than any other chief receives, so that your dignity may not be lowered. I have put before you the three courses. You will have to answer on the Day of Reckoning for all the great wealth which you have bestowed upon your women." [10]

Ala-ud-din stuck to his views and refused to be guided by, what appeared to him, the latitudinarian tendencies of the ecclesiastics. The rights of a king on the public treasury were succintly explained by Qazi Mughis-ud-din. Had the Sultan followed the precept and practice of the early Khalifs he would have conferred a blessing on the down-trodden masses. The conception of an autocratic state runs counter to Islamic principles, yet despots and autocrats have flourished in spite of them. The observations made by the Qazi, however, bring into relief the charitable nature of Islamic laws, as compared with the unlimited license allowed to autocracy.

Alauddin's prototype was later on found in Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, both of whom tried to shed the influence of the *Ulema.* It is apparent that the general discomfort of the people was the direct consequence of the severity of their reign. Admittedly, there was peace in the country, but peace was gained at a heavy price.

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10. *Tarikh-i-Firoz-shahi,* 393 et seq.

There can be no doubt that the ecclesiastics generally have a narrow outlook. Though they found it expedient to consider the frown and foibles of the reigning sovereign, and their influence had not saved the country from rack and ruin, yet in many cases, when their very life was at stake, they had the courage to speak out their minds and challenge the whims of sovereigns. [11]

No basis for popular government.

From the above survey it is clear that till the advent of the Mughals there was nothing in Indian polity which contained in it germs of popular government. Writing of Akbar, Vincent Smith says, "He had no conception of any form of government other than autocracy of the most absolute possible kind, nor was any other form practicable in India of the sixteenth century. No materials existed in the country from which a system of administration could be evolved on lines of organic development". [12] The criticism levelled against the Mughals that they failed to evolve new political formulæ does not take into account either the current condition of the country or the traditional passivity of the people. Since the days of the *Mahabharata* India was much involved in petty dynastic contests to think of political theories. There have been bad and benevolent rulers; there were those who sought the aid of ministers; there were others who refused to be guided by anything but their sweet will. But, apart from copy-book preachings and precepts, the entire fabric of Indian polity consisted of nothing but warp and woof of autocracy.

Mughal System.

The Mughal system of administration owes its inception to the genius of Akbar. The administrative measures of Sher Shah and the system prevailing in Persia and

11. See ante, p. 112.

12. *Akbar, the great Mughal.* 354.

Trans-Oxania supplied him with ideas which he reshaped in a new form. The *ensemble* of the administrative machinery sent the author of the *Ain* into delightful raptures; we are no less impressed by the brilliancy of Akbar's genius. With few modifications the system lasted till the reign of Aurangzeb. The principles underlying the revenue administration of the Anglo-Indian government are based on the practice prevailing in the time of Akbar. "The structure of the bureaucratic framework of government also still shows many traces of his handiwork. His institutions, therefore, are not merely of historical and antiquarian interest, but are in some degree the foundation of the system of administration now in operation." [13]

The Mughal Emperors had no regular council of Ministers, but in practice the Emperor always held private consultations, known as *Divan-i-khas*, with the chief officers of the state. Affairs of moment were discussed in the council, though sometimes confidential matters were decided by the Emperor and the Vazir alone. [14]

Chief Departments.

The Chief departments of the central administration were as follows :—

1. The Exchequer and the Revenue under *Divan* (Finance Minister).

2. The recruiting of the army and the Pay and Accounts Office under the *Bakshi* (Paymaster).

3. The Imperial Household, factories and stores (*karkhanas*) under the *khansaman* (Lord High Steward and Chamberlain).

4. The Judiciary under the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*.

5. Religious endowments, charity and grants under *Sadr-us-Sadr*.

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13. Ibid. 13.

14. M. U. (Beveridge), I. p. 328 ; Blochmann, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, Pt. I. 297.

6. Censorship of Public Morals under the *Muhtasib.*

7. Intelligence and posts under *Darogha Dak Chauki.*

8. Escheat of property under the *Buyutat.*

Each department had a regular secretariat employing a large number of clerical staff.

The Prime Minister.

The offices of the Vakil and the Vazir were practically one and the same. In Akbar's time the Prime Minister was always in charge of the Exchequer and revenue department in his capacity as *Divan.*

Aurangzeb's Prime Ministers were:—

(1). Fazil Khan. He held office for only a fortnight in June 1663.

(2). Jafar Khan. He was related to Aurangzeb, having married one of the sisters of Mumtaz Mahal. He was Prime Minister from 1663 till his death in 1670.

(3). Asad Khan. He was Jafar Khan's sister's son and he had married one of the sisters of Mumtaz Mahal. He was Prime Minister from 1676 till Aurangzeb's death. He was the father of the famous general Zulfiqar Khan.

The Divan.

The *Divan* was the highest officer of the revenue department. He sometimes bore the courtesy title of the Vazir. He used to receive all revenue papers from the provinces and all orders for payments were to be signed by him. It was his duty to place before the Emperor an abstract of receipts and disbursements daily. He had to audit the accounts of different departments. All official records were under his control. He used to receive regular reports from high officers in the provinces.

The *Divan* had two assistants designated as *Divan-i-tan* (*tan* is a contraction of *tankhah*) or *Divan* of salaries and the

Divan-i-Khalsa or *Divan* of crownlands. The duties of the *Divan-i-tan* were to submit before the Emperor all facts relating to cash salaries or *Jagirs* and rent-free grant of land (*aima*), records of arrears and ranks of *mansabdars*. He used to write *firmans*, *ahkams* (imperial orders), *parwanahs* for *madad i-mash* (subsistence allowance) and *hasb-ul-hukms*, *i. e.*, letters by order of the Emperor.

The duties of *Divan* of crownlands were the following:—

The posting of the *Subahdars*, *faujdars*, *amins*, *devani* officers, *kroris* (the collector of a revenue area yielding one *kror* of *dam i. e.*, 2½ lacs of rupees) and *daroghas* of the provinces, of the *amins*, *mushrifs* (*i. e.*, auditors) of *mahals*, treasurers of provincial treasuries, and collectors of dues from the *zamindars*. The *Divan* of *Khalsa* had to answer the enquiries of the lower officials, to issue letters-patent (*sanad*) for services; to issue orders (*parwanahs*) on the *parganahs* assigning the cash salary of the Emperor's sons and grand sons; to write letters by order (*hasb-ul-hukm*) on any subject as desired by the Emperor; to issue passports for roads and passes for workmen.

......"He had also to submit to the Emperor in writing a summary of the despatches of the lower Divani officers and clerks that were fit to be reported, and to reply according to the regulations to those that required reply." There were lists of papers which had to be read to the Emperor by the *Divan of Khalsa*. He had also to report to the Emperor the cash balances of the treasuries very frequently and the doings of the *zamindars*.

"*The Divan of Khalsa* drew up the statement of the income and disbursement of the imperial camp and of all the *subahs*, and kept the records of the *tankha* (allowance) of the Begams and lists of the *mahals* (villages) of the crown-lands." [15]

15. *Mughal Administration*, 32-47.

The *Bakhshi* or paymaster combined in himself a variety of functions. His duties included the recruiting of the army, the maintenance of various registers, including the list of high officials (*mansabdars*), the roster of the palace guards, the list of officers paid in cash, the rules regarding grants of pay, etc. It was also his duty to lay before the Emperor the complete muster-roll of the Imperial forces, whenever a battle was imminent. He had also to assign posts to several commanders on the field; sometimes he assumed a high command himself.[16] Though all salary bills had to be passed by the *Bakhshi*, the actual payment was made by the *Divan*. The chief *Bakhshi* was known as *Mir-Bakhshi* or first *Bakhshi*, and his assistants were known as 2nd, 3rd and 4th *Bakhshi*. The *Mir-Bakhshi* was always present at the *Divan-i-Am*; he used to submit petitions of the *mansabdars* before the Emperor and receive his instructions regarding promotions and transfers.

The *Bakhshi*.

The following is the list of the Head *Bakhshis* of Aurangzeb's reign:—

Muhammad Amin Khan (1659-1667), Danishmand Khan (1667-1670), Lashkar Khan (1670-1671), Asad Khan (1671-1676). Sarbuland Khan (1676-1679), Himmat Khan (1680-1681), Ashraf Khan (1681-1686), Ruhullah Khan I (1686-1692), Bahramand Khan (1692-1702) and Nusarat Jang (1702-1707).[17]

The High Steward and Lord Chamberlain of the Imperial Household, known as *Khan-i-Saman* or *Mir-i-Saman*, was a high and important officer. He supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure and accompanied him during marches. All personal servants of the Emperor were under him.

Khan-i-Saman.

There was no department for purchasing stores during the time of the Mughals. The state itself manufactured both

16. *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 38.
17. *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 78-79.

articles of consumption as well as that of luxury, harness, saddles, tents, carpets, robes of honour etc.,—all these were manufactured in factories (*karkhanas*) which were under the direct control of the *Khan-i-Saman.* The State maintained several factories in various cities of the Emperor; the appointment and dismissal of the employees and superintendents of the *Karkhanas* rested with the *Khan-i-Saman.* In Aurangzeb's time there were 69 *karkhanas* including mint.[18]

The following is the list of Aurangzeb's *Khan-i-Samans*: Fazil Khan (1662-1663), Iftihar Khan (1663-1670), Ashraf Khan (1670-1676), Ruhullah Khan I (1676-1678), Muhammad Ali Khan (1678-1687), Kamgar Khan (1687-1688), Fazil Khan III (1688-1697), Khanazad Khan (Ruhullah Khan II) (1697-1704), Khudabanda Khan (1704-1707) - (*Sarkar*, III. *80*).

The Judiciary.

Before describing the judicial system prevailing during the Mughal period, it is proper to briefly consider the principles on which the system worked, and to relate the powers and duties of the *Qazis* who performed the functions of the judge in Muslim countries.

Though the Quran is the guiding star of the Muslims and gives expression to Islam as a religion, neither in form nor in substance is it a Legal Code. In fact, only an infinitely small portion of the Book has reference to law.

The Qanun-i-Shari'a is not 'law' in the modern sense of the term. It has its basis on something elevated high above human wisdom and knowledge. It has its source in divine ordinance. The distinction between the eternal law and man-made law is analogous to the distinction in Western jurisprudence between *mala per se* and *mala prohibita.* "This distinction," writes a Muslim savant, "is often overlooked

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18. *Mughal Administration*, 190, 196; description of the *Karkhanas* in Bernier, p. 259.

by Muslim jurists, and more often still by their critics who allege that there can be no legislation in Islam, and Muslim Law is so fixed and inflexible that it petrifies society. In its best days Muslim Law was the most flexible legal system in the world, and adopted itself to growing and changing needs in a spirit of conservative common sense. Its acceptance of this substratum of Religion and Ethics saved it from the legal rigidity and unreasonableness which marred certain stages of Roman Law and certain stages of pre-Benthamite English Law. In Muslim Law, as in all law, certainty and clearness are required as essentials. The certainty—the search after precision and precedents—can degenerate into rigid absurdity. If we would curb this tendency in human legislation by an appeal to the Higher Law, which, though it may seem vague, is more embedded in general principles, we are less likely to bring law into sharp opposition to justice. The appeal to the Higher Law also helps to curb the selfishness of the legislative or sovereign authority. In public and constitutional law, it is the boast of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence that unwritten conventions achieve more by their fluidity than rigid formulae. In Muslim jurisprudence the result is attained by the fluidity of the Higher Law. Nothing is more dangerous than precise enactments which are disregarded. Nothing is more conducive to progress and right living than a limitation of transitory legislation and an appeal to first principles in the light of a collective conscience."[18-a]

Flexibility of Muslim jurisprudence.

After the Quran the Traditions or sayings of the Prophet (*Sunna*) are the second source of law. Under this head are included not only traditions about what the Prophet said and did himself, but also that which was done in his presence

Sources of Muslim Law.

18-a *Islamic Culture*, January, 1933, p. 12

without his disapproval. This last represents pre-Islamic customs and usages.

The third foundation of the law is the *Ijma*, that is, the agreement of the jurists on a question of law.

The fourth source was *Qiyas* or reasoning by analogy from the *Quran*, the *Sunna* and *Ijma*. Analogy, however, is limited in scope, as it does not purport to create new principles. To supply the hiatus in law Imam Abu Hanifa adopted *Istihsan* which literally means approbation, and may be translated "liberal construction or juristic preference." [19]

The doctrine of *Istihsan* was objected to by Imam Malik who laid down that "ordinarily analogy was to be the means by which the law should be made to expand, but if it appears that a rule indicated by analogy is opposed to general utility, then *Istislah* 'amendment,' should be resorted to." [20]

Another mode of reasoning in law is *Ijtihad* (labouring hard or studying intensely to arrive at a sound judgment). Though so far as Sunnis are concerned the *Ijtihad* or theorising in law is said to have ceased with the death of Imam Hanbal in 856 A. D., the capacity of growth in Muslim law was not arrested as the *Qazis* and *Muftis* were given wide discretion in applying the law to facts. As an analogy we might mention the fact that though "the Chancellor in England with his clerks could frame new writs, it was for the Common Law judges to decide on their validity." [21]

Its enduring merit.

Though apparently the creative period of Muslim Law seems to have ended "in reality, the outstanding feature is the introduction of the pre-Islamic legal conceptions—the revival of the old Greco-Roman ideas. These ideas were

19. *Principles of Muhammadan Law* by F. B. Tyabji, p. 20.

20. Ibid, 21.

21. Holland, *Jurisprudence*, 62.

represented by the jurists (*Fuqaha*), in contradistinction to the upholders of the *Sunnah*. The old school, however, would not yield straight away and was still predominant in two very important provinces—Fars and Syria—besides Sindh."[22]

Two separate systems of law—the religious (*Qanun-i-Shari*) and the common law (*Qanun-i-Urf*) - have prevailed in Islamic States. Suits relating to marriage, inheritance and pious foundations (*wakf*) were decided according to canon law. *Shari'a* has prevailed in "all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion" "In the field of commercial law, practice went its course unencuumbered. Constitutional and criminal law, law relating to war and taxation, and all the more important suits regarding property, were more and more appropriated by the temporal power, and cases were settled by a mixture of arbitrariness, local custom, and a feeling of equity. Thus everywhere in Islam, quite independent of western influence, a two-fold legal practice has grown up, which may be called the religious and the temporal." (*Encyclopædia of Islam*). "There is no doubt," writes an eminent orientalist, "that the high ethical standard of certain parts of Arab Law acted favourably on the development of our modern concepts; and herein lies its enduring merits." (*Legacy of Islam*).

The Qazi.

The duties of the *Qazi* are thus described · "If in any case the *Qazi* be perplexed by opposite proofs, let him reflect upon the case, and determine as he shall judge right; or for greater certainty let him consult other able lawyers, and if they differ after weighing the argument, let him decide as appears just. Let him not fear or hesitate to act upon the result of his judgment after a full and deliberate examination." [23]

22. *The Renaissance of Islam.*

23. *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* translated in Morley's Digest, Vol. I, p. CCXL; *see Principles of Muhammadan Law*, 27.

Harun-al-Rashid was the first Khalif who gave the title of Chief *Qazi* to Qazi Abu Yusuf. In the appointment letter drawn up in 976 A. D., the Khalif "recommends constant study of the Quran; punctual fulfilment of prayers; just treatment of the parties; that is to say, he is to show no preference or partiality to a Muslim as against a Jew or a Christian. He is to walk with dignity; speak little and gently; not to look round too much, and be restrained in his movements. He is to select witnesses discreetly and to keep a watchful eye over them. He must protect orphans and supervise charitable institutions, and regarding such matters as he cannot decide according to the Quran and the *Sunnah* he is to consult the learned. Should they agree among themselves that the *Qazi* has erred in his decision he (the *Qazi*) must set the decision aside."

"This body of learned men," writes Metz, "absolutely independent of the State, thus constitute the highest tribunal. Through them democracy, the sovereignty of the community of the faithful, maintained its position in the important sphere of Law." [24]

According to Islamic jurisprudence, the Khalif was the supreme judge of the faithful. In the provinces the Governor was the Khalif's deputy, who exercised judicial powers for him. But the manifold duties of the Governor compelled him to appoint *Qazis* (judges) who did judicial work alone. [25] It was for this reason that the jurisdiction of the *Qazi* was never marked off from that of the Governor.

In accordance with the defeudalization of the Empire under the Abbasid the *Qazi* was removed from the authority of the Governor and was either appointed direct by the Khalif

24. *The Renaissance of Islam* translated by S. Khuda Bakhsh in *Islamic Culture*, Haidarabad, Vol. V. No. I p. 136-137.

25. Wellhausen, *Die religiöns-politischen opposition-parteien*, 78.

or at least confirmed by him. Mansur was the first to appoint judges at the capitals of the provinces. [26]

Position of the *Qazis*.

Ever since the days of the first Abbasid the position of the *Qazi* rose in importance. Though hitherto the *Qazi* attended the Governor's levee, the *Qazi* appointed by Harun-al-Rashid in 793 A. D. refused the invitation to attend. In the 9th century, however, there was such a change that the Governors used to wait upon the *Qazis*. This practice was subsequently dropped as the *Qazis* were found too proud to rise to receive the governors. There was so much respect for the judicial post that Qazi Al-Isfaraini of Baghdad could say to Khalif Qadir that he dare not dismiss him, while he, the *Qazi*, need only write to Khorsan to shake the Khalif's throne.

In early days pious people demurred from accepting the post of a *Qazi*. Imam Abu Hanifa refused to accept judgeship, in spite of the lash.

The question whether a *Qazi* should accept a salary or not was at one time keenly debated. The Abbasids, however, who had raised the status of the *Qazis* gave them high emoluments.

Originally the *Qazi* used to sit in the chief mosque, but about the middle of the 9th century of the Christian era, the orthodox reaction regarded the use of the mosque as the court of the *Qazi* as a desecration of God's House and forbade it.

In the early days the litigants used to stand before the *Qazis*. When a prince of the *Umayyid* dynasty refused to

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26. This and the following paragraphs are based on *Renaissance des Islam* by Metz, translated by S. Khuda Baksh in the *Islamic Culture*, Haidarabad. According to Maulana Shihli, the second Khalif appointed *Qazis* at Kufa and Basra (*Al-Faruq*).

stand he was compelled to withdraw his suit. Later on the parties were allowed to sit in a row before the *Qazi*. When the Khalif Mahdi had a law-suit with his mother the *Qazi* asked the Khalif to sit among the litigants.

The *Qazi* wore the black colour of the Abbasid officials. In the 9th century A. D. the high conical hat, *qalansuwah*, like the English top-hat, became the official head gear of the judges.

A woman as a judge.

"By the side of the court of the Qadi stood the temporal court (*An Nazar fil mazalim*). All matters for which the Qadi was considered too weak or for which a masterful hand was needed, came up before this court. In all Muslim countries these two courts existed side by side. But their respective jurisdiction was nowhere clearly defined." The rights that have now been given to women by Europe were accorded in Islam a thousand years earlier. "In 918 A. D. actually a lady presided over *Mazalim*. Opinion was divided whether a woman should be appointed a judge. At least the famous Tabari spoke in favour of such a proposal."

"The judgment was written judgment. Some of these have become classics of literature."[27]

The functions of a *Qazi* are strictly those of a judge, but we find that in the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi, he was practically the head of the civil administration. The Indian province according to the historian Baihaqi was administered through a *Qazi* and a commander-in-chief both of whom resided at Lahore. "The *Qazi* was the head of the civil administration and collected taxes and dispensed justice, while the commander-in-chief made war, took tribute, seized upon elephants and chastised refractory Hindu chiefs." (Elliot, II, p. 118).

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27. "Such as those of Tahir in Ibn Taifur, *Kit, Baghdad*, fol. 50 b; of Mamun in *Baihaqi*, 534 f: of Sahib Ibn Abbad in *Thaalabi*, *Khasal-Khas*, Cairo 1909, p. 73," quoted in *Renaissance Des Islam*.

Mughal judicial system.

In dealing with the judicial system of the Mughals some writers have mistakenly supposed that "no code of civil or criminal law existed; no records of proceedings, civil or criminal were kept.........and little or no attention was paid to oaths."[28]

The Mughals did not interfere with the personal laws of the Hindus whose cases were decided by learned Brahmans on the basis of the Code of Manu and the *Shastras*. As for the Muslims, the laws of Islam were uniformly the laws of the Mughals, the Arabs and the Persians. The Indian Muslims had the accumulated experience of a vast body of jurists of different countries from Morocco to Mongolia at their disposal. The number of commentaries on civil law is legion. The compilation of the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* by the order of Aurangzeb should disprove the theory that there was no code of civil or criminal law.

Criminal Law.

The criminal law somewhat varied in different Muslim countries, particularly the forms of punishment. The prescribed form of punishment for theft, for instance, is the cutting off the right hand, (Quran, V. 37-38). But Timur commanded thieves to be put to death in violation of the Quranic law. The punishment for highway robbery is the deprivation of hands and feet; but Aurangzeb gave discretion to the *Subahdar* and officers of the *Adalat* to imprison the offender till he manifested signs of penitence.[29]

When mutilation was the usual form of punishment for various crimes, Aurangzeb's leniency did excite adverse comment. Khafi Khan's observation that "from the respect for the Holy Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of the country cannot

28. *Mughal Rule in India* by S. M. Edwardes and H. L. O. Garrett, 189-190.

29. *Mirat*, p. 280.

be carried on" may be true. But judged from modern standards, it will be admitted that if Aurangzeb erred, he erred in a right direction.

The manner of the times is indicated by the following letter addressed by the English Company at Bombay, dated 12th July, 1671 : "We have of late several robberies committed on this island, notwithstanding, when convicted, they are not only severely punished but also lose one and both their ears in the pillory, yet they take no warning, whereas if one or two of the notoriests were hanged for example sake without doubt it would be a great terryfying to the rest...... We shall think of some severe punishment to inflict on them, our power not extending to death, and the company's laws being very remiss as to any notorious robbery." [30]

The Muslim jurists have evolved a criminal code out of a loose mass of rules and precedents, and, as we have seen above, local conditions have always prevailed to modify previous decisions. We are not in possession of the criminal law as devised by Akbar or Shahjahan, but the Penal Code of Aurangzeb gives us an idea about the judicial notions of the age.[31] There is also a chapter devoted to criminal law in the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.*

The most striking provision in Aurangzeb's Penal Code is that imprisonment for various crimes was inflicted not for a fixed period but till the time when the offender showed signs of repentance.

The law of evidence and proof is described in different chapters of the *Fatawa*, and there is no reason to suppose that the *Qazis* or judges paid scanty attention to rules.

"In controversies and decisions of right," says Ovington, "oaths are administered and made use of here, as well as in Christendom." (*A Voyage to Surat in 1689, p. 138.*)

30. *Factory Records*, Surat, Vol. 105, pp. 184-186.

31. *Mirat*, pp. 279-284 ; *Mughal Administration*, 122-130.

Civil disputes.

The disputes relating to civil rights were put in writing; oaths were administered to parties, issues were struck and after taking evidence a short judgment was delivered. The writer has seen a record, relating to some civil suit, in possession of a Mahant in Benares in which the above procedure is set forth.

We have not come across any judgment of a criminal case. There can be no doubt that petty cases were tried summarily, but the scope of cases triable summarily were very wide. The capital cases involving the penalty of death were reported to the Emperor after enquiry by the *Qazi*. The reports used to be complete in all detail so as to enable the Emperor to come to a correct finding. In the *firman* issued in 1672, the *Subahdar* was enjoined to enquire into the cases of undertrial prisoners in different *Kachahris* and police *chabutaras* (platforms) once every month, to release the innocent, and urge the speady trial of others.[32] As there were many police stations and judges courts in a province it is evident that short records of every case used to be sent to the Governor.

Governor's Court.

The Emperor was the supreme legal authority; but he always consulted the *Qazi-ul-quzat*, the head *Qazi* of the Empire in giving decisions. The Governors, as representatives of the Emperor, tried both civil and criminal cases, and sat not only as a Court of First Instance but also as a Court of Appeal within their respective jurisdiction. Every city and large village had its *Qazi* who was appointed by the *Qazi-ul-quzat*.

From the perusal of different *firmans* we find that the jurisdiction of the *Qazi* extended over an area which is now

32. *Mirat*, 282.

under the control of a *Tahsildar* in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. There were about three or four *Qazis*, within the territorial jurisdiction of a *faujdar*.

The *Qazi* was helped by a *Mufti* who, acting as assessor, propounded the law. The findings of the *Qazi* were carried out by the *Mir-i-adl* (a justiciary). Another law officer was the *Darogha-i-adalat* who was the head of the ministerial staff of the Judge's Court and who was also in charge of the records. This office was, however, abolished by Aurangzeb.[33]

Divan-i-Mazalim.

At the end of his reign Aurangzeb ordered that the Court of Justice (*divan-i-adalat*) should in future be designated *divan-i-mazalim*.[34] In Baghdad there were two separate courts with distinct jurisdiction, the Court of the *Qazi* and the *Divan annazr fil Mazalim* (Board for the Inspection of Grievances).[35] The one administered religious law while the other customary law. *Divan-i-Mazalim* was a temporal Court. As in India the *Qazi* had jurisdiction both over religious and temporal matters, hence the change made by Aurangzeb.

Apart from their legal duties, the officers of judicial department always acquainted the Emperor with the grievances of the public. When the Emperor came to know through the officers of the *Dar-ul-Adalat-ul-Alia* (office of the Chief *Qazi*) that the *faujdar* of Palanpur was forcibly collecting a tax for grazing of cows (*gau-charai*) and for fodder of horses, he reprimanded the *Divan* of the province for allowing the collection of a prohibited cess.[36]

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33. *Mirat*, 371.

34. M. A. 460.

35. *Orient under the Caliphs* by S. Khuda Baksh, 283-292; *Short History of the Saracens* by Amir Ali, 402-443.

36. *Mirat*, 275.

At another occasion when Khawja Abdullah, the *Qazi-ul-Quzat* informed the Emperor that the Court peons of Ahmadabad were collecting money by violence from passers-by on the road, the *Divan* was ordered to punish the offenders.[37]

Duties of *Qazis*.

In Jahangir's time, it was also the duty of the *Qazi* of Surat to calculate the value of all goods imported in to the town for purposes of levying custom duty. (*Jahangir's India.*)

In later part of the reign the *Qazis* were asked to look after the treasuries of *Bait-ul-Mal.* The distribution of clothing to the poor was also effected in the presence of the *Qazi.*[38] The *Kotwal* was a subordinate of the *Qazi* and received orders from him (*Storia*, II, 421).

From a *firman* in my possession, it appears that the *Qazi* also acted as a Registrar. All deeds relating to sale, mortgage and trust of property usually bore the seal of the *Qazi.* The deeds used to be attested by marginal witnesses; those that were illiterate used to make some mark or sign on the document.

The *Qazis* discharged their duties in *Muhakama-i-adalat* which was open to the public. When Aurangzeb learnt that the judges of Gujrat used to sit in their offices on only two days in the week, while on two other days they presented themselves before the Governor, and treated the remaining three days as holidays, he ordered that they should attend office for five days, visit the Governor on Wednesday and take a holiday on Friday. The officers of the court were enjoined to sit in their offices from one hour after daybreak till the time of *zohar* prayer (a little after midday).[39]

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37. *Ibid*, 319.
38. *Mirat*, 338.
39. *Ibid*, 375.

In Jahangir's time the *Qazis* used to sit only for four days in the week. (*Jahangir's India*, 57.)

As related before, the Governor had judicial powers. Any party aggrieved by the decision of the local *Qazi* had the right to prefer an appeal before the Governor. But owing to long distances few people reached the Governor's Court. The Governor in his capacity of a judicial officer was always helped by the provincial *Qazi*.

Emperor as a Judge.

The final Court of Appeal was the Emperor himself. Aurangzeb held no public *Darbar* on Wednesday but decided cases in his private chamber. Bernier writes, "On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower orders and presented to the King by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the Justice-Chamber, called *Adalat-khanah* on another day of the week, attended by two principal *Qazis*."[40]

The *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was always in attendance and after discussing the points of law with him the Emperor decided the cases.

Though the *Qazi* had the power to condemn anyone to death, "he cannot order execution without first reporting to the King three times."[41]

"The power of life and death is the Emperor's prerogative, which he hardly vouchsafes to communicate to any civil judge, except they be at a distance, but reserves that authority entirely to himself, of pronouncing the sentence of execution; and if the offender is at a distance, his crime is *many times transmitted* by a messenger to the Moghul who determines sometimes without sending for the offender, according to the account of the matter that is sent him."[42]

40. Bernier, 263.
41. *Storia*, II, 419.
42. *A voyage to Surat*, 133.

According to the above authority, "there has not been a criminal for this 20 years that has suffered a capital punishment at Surat." The above quotation refers to a period before 1692.

Venality of the *Qazis*.

European travellers have complained of the corruption and venality of the *Qazis*. Pelsaert, writing about Jahangir's administration, says, "All capital cases, such as thefts, murders, or crimes are finally disposed of by the Governor, if the criminals are poor and unable to pay, and the sweepers drag them out to execution with very little ceremony. In the case of other offences the criminals are seldom or never executed. Ordinary questions of divorce, quarrels, fights, threats and the like, are in the hands of the *Kotwal* and the *Qazi*. One must indeed be sorry for the man who has to come to judgment before these godless 'un-judges;'........... everyone stands with hands open to receive, for no mercy or compassion can be had except on payment of cash. This fault should not be attributed to judges or officers alone, for the evil is an universal plague; from the least to the greatest, right up to the King himself, everyone is infected with insatiable greed."[43]

There is no doubt that there is an element of truth in what Pelsaert says, but he has painted the picture in somewhat sombre colours. In our own day it will be found that there is plenty of corruption at least among the ministerial staff of almost every department, but inspite of it there is a good balance of justice and fair-dealing in the present administration. We think that same was the case in the Mughal period, though the method of administration was different.

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43. *The Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert, translated by Moreland as *Jahangir's India*, p. 57.

Aurangzeb's Justice.

We shall conclude the subject by quoting Ovington: "He (Aurangzeb) is the main ocean of justice and equity, and from him all the smaller rivulets of wealth flow, and to him they all pay tribute, and return again. *He generally determines with exact justice and equity; for there is no pleading of peeridge or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is soon heard by Aurang-Zebe as the chief Omrah.* Which makes the *Omrahs* very circumspect of their actions, and punctual in their payments; because all complaints against them are readily adjusted, and they never want jealous rivals at court who are willing to bring them into disgrace with their king for any fault."[44]

In Aurangzeb's reign, the following were the Chief *Qazis*; Abdul Wahab Bohra (1659-1675), Shaikh-ul-Isalam (1676-1683), Sayyid Abu Said (1683-1685), Khawjah Abdullah (1685-1698), Muhammad Akram (1698-1706), Mulla Haider (1706-1707).[45]

The *Sadr*.

All petitions of pious men and scholars for sustenance allowance in cash or for rent-free grant of land for ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes used to be presented to the Emperor through *Sadr-us-sadur*. *Sayurghal* (Turkish) *Madadimash*, *aima* were different names for the rent-free grant of land. The distribution of food and clothing to the needy during the time of famine and scarcity used to be done through the *sadr*. He was the Emperor's Almoner and spent vast sums in charity on behalf of the sovereign. Allowance to students and servants of mosques were distributed by the *sadr*. Every province had its local *sadr* who was subordinate to the chief *sadr*. The following were the chief *sadrs* of Aurangzeb's reign: Sayyid Hidayatullah (1658-1660), Sheikh Mirak

44. *A voyage to Surat in 1689* (Oxford University Press, 1929) p. 120.
45. *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 81.

(1660-1661), Qalich Khan (1661-1667), Razvi Khan (1667-1681), Qalich Khan (1681), Sharif Khan 1681-1682), Fazil Khan II (1682-1688), Qazi Abdullah (1698), Muhammad Amin Khan II (Chin Bahadur) (1698-1707).[46]

Censor of Morals.

The office of a censor is of ancient origin. In India Asoka appointed officers for enforcing the regulations concerning the sanctity of animal life. In the seventh century of the Christian era King Harsha inflicted capital punishment on persons who used flesh as food. In the twelfth century, Kumarpala, King of Gujarat, after his conversion to Jainism "took up the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life with the most inordinate zeal, and imposed savage penalties upon violators of his rules. An unlucky merchant, who had committed the atrocious crime of cracking a louse, was brought before the special court at Anhilwara, and punished by the confiscation of his whole property."[47]

Aurangzeb appointed censors of morals (*muhtasib*) to enforce Islamic commands and prohibitions (*amr wa nihi*),—such as sale of wine and other intoxicants, gambling and sexual immorality. It was the duty of the *muhtasib* to persuade Muslims to offer their daily prayers and observe the fast of *ramzan* and other religious rites and ceremonies. If slaves, male or female, ran away from their master, they were to be restored to the latter without any compensation. An important duty entrusted to the censor was the *realisation of debts from the debtors and paying the same to the creditors without charging any fee.*[48] Though the profession of money-lending was not as common as it is to-day, it was less open to malpractices in the Mughal period than at present.

46. *Ibid*, 81.
47. *Early History of India* by V. Smith (2nd edition) p. 169-170.
Mirat, 250-251.

The *muhtasib* discharged some of the duties now performed by Municipal Boards. If any one, contrary to regulations screened off a part of the street, or closed the path, or threw dirt and sweepings on the road, or if any one seized the portion of the bazar area reserved for public traffic, the censor was to remove the obstruction and enforce the regulations.[49]

Intelligence and Posts.

There were three sets of persons who supplied news to the Government, (1) *Waqayah navis*, (2) *Khufiyah navis* and (3) *Harkarah*. The first was a public reporter while the other two were secret reporters.

Every large town and province had a news-writer. A *waqayah-navis* was attached to every field-army and to the headquarters of princes. The news-writer stationed at provincial headquarters appointed his agents in different districts and in the offices of town, district and provincial authorities. The *waqayah-navis* sent his report every week.[50] The *khufiyah-navis* sent his report secretly to the imperial headquarters without the knowledge of local authorities.

The reports of news writers were received by *Darogha Dak Chauki* who submitted them to the Emperor. They used to be read out to the Emperor in the *Zenana*.

Delhi to Haiderabad in six days.

The reports were sent in a hollow cylinder, the mouth of which was sealed. There were relays of men, stationed at a distance of few miles who ran to the next station and delivered the mail (*dak*). "The king's letters......are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted

49. *Mughal Administration*, 30. Duties of *Muhtasib* in *Al-Faruq* by Maulana Shibli.

50. Manucci, II. 331; *A Voyage to Surat in 1689*, p. 137.

in the villages 4 or 5 *kos* apart, taking turns of duty throughout the day and the night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on, and will travel 80 *kos* between night and day."[50] It is surprising to find the rapidity with which the imperial letters were carried from one end of the country to the other. From the dates mentioned in the letters collected in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri* we find that in Aurangzeb's time it took only six days for a letter to reach Haiderabad from Delhi. In Akbar's reign a letter reached Ahmadabad from Agra in five days. "The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions, have performed a journey of seven hundred *kos* in ten days. Fourteen hundred miles in ten days, with post horses."[50-a]

Aurangzeb kept himself well-informed. The princes were in mortal dread of the news-writers. Some stray words dropped in the privacy of the *harem* sometimes brought forth Aurangzeb's trenchant remarks reminding the princes of the utmost care that they must to observe in their words and deeds.

Escheat of property and the *Buyutat*.

The Mughal Government confiscated the personal property of every nobleman after his death. The reason was that every officer was indebted to the State which took possession of his property until the accounts were cleared. The Mughal *mansabdars* took advances and loans from the

50 *Jahangir's India*, 58.

50-a. *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India* by John Briggs, Vol. II; for postal system of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, see *Travels of Ibn Batuta*.

Government in the form of cash, quipments or furniture. The assignment of *jagirs* in lieu of pay was in proportion to the contingent ordered to be kept by him. A nobleman was entitled to the entire income of his *jagir* only when he brought his full contingent to the muster. The troops of *mansabdars* were periodically inspected, and, more often than not, the contingent fell short of the quota prescribed in the letter of appointment. This involved a reduction of the allowance which was entered in registers in the form of a loan. An account showing the amount of salary earned, and advances and loans (including the cut in the allowance) was kept by auditors. Various circumstances, however, usually intervened hindering the final adjustment of accounts. When a nobleman died, invariably he left a heavy debt behind him. The State, therefore, confiscated his property; but as soon as the debt was satisfied, the remaining property was handed over to the legal heirs of the deceased. Aurangzeb's instructions were very definite that if the deceased officer owed nothing to the State, his entire property was to be given to his heir. (*Mirat*, 185, 266, 319). In the latter part of his reign he issued orders to the *divan* of Ahmadabad not to confiscate the property of those men whose heirs were still in Government service. (*Mirat*, 326) Perhaps it is the above *firman* on the basis of which the author of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* says that Aurangzeb abolished the system of escheat from his dominions.

Inspite of the fact that the nobles freely took loans from the Government, yet in almost every case there was the temptation to the debtors to conceal their property with their life-time. Apart from the loss to the State,—as many officers left little property—the system encouraged reckless extravagance and left a balance of ill-feeling among the heirs of the deceased after the accounts were adjusted.

The *buyutat* was the title of the officer who registe the property of deceased persons.

The system of escheat prevailed in ancient times in one form or another. We find that the Goths who settled in Italy during the fith century after Christ had the same status as mercenaries, or travellers, or hostages. They were not treated as Roman citizens. As a consequence, if they died on Roman soil their property fell to the state as unowned property, there being no legal heir, the laws of inheritance not applying to them. (Bury, *Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*).

In the *Brihaspati Dharmasastra* the following verse is found. "Should any partner in trade happen to die through want of proper care, his goods must be shown (and delivered) to officers appointed by the King," (quoted in Majumdars' *Corporate Life in Ancient India*).

The Army.

The Mughal army was recruited from four different sources, namely, (1) contingents supplied by tributary Rajas; (2) contingents raised by *Mansabdars*; (3) *Dakhili* or supplementary troops paid by state but commanded by *mansabdars*; (4) *Ahadis* or gentlemen-troopers consisting of young men of position recruited individually. They were not distributed among the *mansabdars* like the *Dakhili* troops, but were under the command of a great noble and had their own *bakhshi*.

The number of troops supplied by the Rajas is nowhere mentioned. But we find from the letters of Prince Azam that the Rana of Udaipur used to furnish a quota of one thousand horsemen.[51] When Shahjahan sent Jaswant Singh to oppose the advance of Aurangzeb, the Rajah had a contingent of eight thousand Rajputs with him.[52]

The *mansabdars* were required to equip and furnish a certain number of men, horses, and elephants. For instance, a man with a rank of one thousand was obliged to keep two

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51. See ante, pp. 233, 236 and 238.

52. Bernier, 39.

hundred and fifty horsemen of different races—sixty-four Pathans, sixty-four Mughals, sixty-four Rajputs; the remainder were Sayyids, Sheikhzadas and so forth. (Manucci, II. 375; III. 252). The *Dakhili* and *Ahadi* troops were not numerous.

Strength of Mughal army.

It is difficult to estimate the total strength of the Mughal army. The cavalry in Akbar's time may have numbered about 2,50,000. Shahjahan's army was estimated to number 4,40,000 consisting of 2,00,000 cavalry, 8,000 *Mansabdars*, 7,000 *Ahadis*, 40,000 musketeers and artillerymen, and 1,85,000 cavalry commanded by princes and nobles.[53] According to Bernier, in Aurangzeb's time "the effective cavalry, commonly about the king's person, including that of Rajas and Pathans, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand; which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse."[54] The same authority puts the strength of the infantry at three hundred thousand.

The pay of the foot-soldier ranged between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 per month; a trooper with one horse drew Rs. 25 a month.[55]

There was no uniform for the soldiers; there was no official arrangement for transport, and no commissariat service existed. "Supplies were provided by huge bazars marching with the camp, and by the nomadic tribe of Banjaras, who made a profession of carrying grain with which to feed armies" (V. Smith).

The Artillery.

The artillery was of two kinds, the heavy and the light which was also called the artillery of the stirrup because it was inseparable from the king's person. Most of the canons were made of brass. Each piece of this light artillery was

53. *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 20.
54. Bernier, 219. According to Manucci, cavalry amounted to 290,000 (II. 422-431).
55. Ibid, 217.

"mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay."[56] There were also swivel guns, "a small field-piece of the size of a double musket," attached on the back of a camel.

There were a number of foreigners employed as artillery-men receiving as much as Rs. 200 a month, but in the time of Aurangzeb their number was reduced and generally their pay was fixed at Rs. 32.

Arches were still in use. An archer could discharge eight arrows in much the same time as a musketeer could load his gun twice.

When the Emperor ordered any general to proceed in any direction with his army, it was necessary for him to appear on the river bank within sight of the palace windows at Delhi and parade the whole of his cavalry and infantry. Three days after the inspection he must begin his march.[57]

Weakness of the Mughal army.

Though the *mansabdars* were capable men and some of them were efficient commanders and good soldiers, yet there were many inherent defects in the Mughal army. The recruitment of soldiers was not effected by one central authority. Every *mansabdar* raised his quota of men according to his own choice with the result that the latter more often followed the fortunes of their immediate masters rather than of the sovereign. They feared or respected their pay-masters, but they were not moved with a common loyalty to the Emperor. Their pay was always in arrears and they lived on the meagre sustenance allowed to them by their

56. Ibid, 218.
57. *Storia*, IV. 408.

avaricious masters. The *mansabdars* were invariably guilty of false musters, and did their best to cheat the government. Though the preparation of descriptive rolls and the branding of horses partially checked the evil, but it was not eradicated. But the greatest defect of the army was its unwieldiness. It was incapable of swift military strokes. The cumbrous equipage of the imperial camp resisted the rapidity of movement. The *mansabdars* in their turn moved about with all the paraphernalia of the Court with the result that they were out-manœuvred by the Maratha light horse. There were serious intrinsic defects in the system of the Mughal army.

The Navy.

The Mughals had no navy in the modern sense of the term. A flotilla of armed boats was stationed at Dacca to protect the coast of Bengal against foreign pirates of the Arakan coast. When Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal the expenditure on the flotilla (*nawwara*) amounted to fourteen lacs of rupees. But piracy went on unchecked. At last Shaista Khan, the new Governor, built a flotilla of 300 ships, and making a conquest of Chittagong put an end to the piracy.

According to Manucci, Aurangzeb had resolved to set up a fleet, but he was dissuaded from executing his project by his prime minister. It was suggested to the Emperor that there was no deficiency of money or timber to form a navy, "but he was without the chief thing—that is to say men to direct it." Aurangzeb wanted to entrust the conduct of the navy to the Europeans, but Jafar Khan protested against this.[58]

The observation about lack of men is somewhat wide of the mark. We have the testimony of Hamilton who says that in 1686 the Surat merchants traded briskly by sea to

58. Manucci, II, 45-47.

Mocha, Persia, and Basrah to the westward, and to Bengal, Atcheen, Malacca, and Siam to the eastward.[59] "The Mogul's subjects have a good many fine large ships that trade all over India."[60] Writing of Abdul Ghafur, a Muslim merchant of Surat, Hamilton says that he "drove a trade equal to the English East-India Company "........" I have known him fit out in a year, above 20 sails of ships, between 300 and 800 Tons, and none of them had less of his own stock than 10,000 pounds, and some of them had 25,000; and, after that foreign stock was sent away, he behoved to have as much more of an inland stock for the following years market."[61]

De Laet says, "The ships which make the annual voyage from Surat to Moha (Mocha) on the Red Sea are of huge size but are carelessly built, and, though they carry many guns, cannot defend themselves properly. Each of them sometimes carries as many as 1,700 men." (*The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 84).

The Sidis of Janjira, an island off Bombay, had a strong fleet purely manned by Indians and Moplahs. Sidi Yaqub received a subsidy from Aurangzeb and did good service against the English[62] and the Marathas. But the fleet was not strong enough to check the depredations of European pirates. There was no lack of men and money, but the Mughal Government grievously neglected to have an efficient navy, with the consequence that the sea-borne trade of India gradually passed into the hands of the maritime nations of Europe.

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59. *A New Account of the East-Indies* by A. Hamilton, edited by Sir William Foster, Vol. I, 116.

60. Ibid. 133.

61. Ibid. 89.

62. When Sir John Child began an unjust war with the Mughals by capturing their ships, Sidi Yaqub besieged the fort of Bombay. The English were obliged to conclude an ignominous peace with the Mughals in 1689 (Hamilton I, 88, 128-129). The peace was not influenced by any fear of reprisals from the English as alleged by the authors of *Mughal Rule in India*, p..362.

The position of Indian shipping has been indicated by Mr. Moreland.[63] On account of the advent of European traders the ship-owners of Surat suffered some injury on two out of the three principal export routes. The effects of competition were actually felt between 1620 and 1630. But by 1660 Indian ships were multiplying so fast that "whereas in Surat ten years past there were but 15 or so, there is now 80, and the most part of great burthen." Taking the Indian-owned shipping as a whole, we find that it lost ground definitely in Gujrat, gained ground but failed to retain it in Bengal, and possibly lost on balance in the Coromandel ports.

The ships built by Indians could not stand bad weather and were not sufficiently armed; while European ships were better armed, and could defy attacks of pirates. Had the State taken an interest in the building and arming of ships it was possible that European traders would not have gained a footing which they did.

63 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 81 et seq.

CHAPTER XX.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

From time immemorial, village has been the unit of administration in India. Under the Mughals a large number of villages was grouped together in one *mahal* or *parganah.* Several *mahals* formed one *sarkar* which was equivalent to modern territorial jurisdiction of a district. A *subah* or a province was an aggregate of *sarkars.*

Village headman.

There was a *patel, chaudhri* or *muqaddam* in every village or a group of villages. Formerly he used to be elected by land-owning families in a village, but subsequently the office became hereditary. He maintained peace and order in his village, and realized Government dues fro n the villagers. For his services he received some percentage of the land-revenue he collected.

The *Patwari.*

Apart from the headman, the *patwari* was an important officer of the village. He was in charge of village records and kept statistics about everything connected with the village. He maintained accounts of the village land-revenue and taxes, and prepared detailed statements about the agricultural, economic and industrial condition of the village. He received some percentage of Government duties levied on manufactured goods.

The *Zaildar* or The *Tahsildar.*

Above the village was the circle or *zail* consisting of a number of villages which were under the charge of a *zaildar* or *tahsildar.* He collected land-revenue from the *chaudharis* in his circle.

The *Zamindar.*

Above the circle was the *parganah* under the control of a *zamindar* or *deshmukh.* He supervised the work of *tahsildars,* and transmitted to the headquarters the Government share of the land-revenue

either in kind or in cash. He maintained peace and order within his jurisdiction, and guarded the high roads. In case of theft and robbery he was held responsible for the stolen property if the culprit was not apprehended. He had to send a weekly report to the *Amil* indicating the condition of cultivation in his area. Every month he used to send to the provincial headquarter a detailed statement showing the condition of people, artisans, labourers and *jagirdars*, suppression of rebellion or disorder, and current market prices. He regulated weights and measures and controlled the sale of intoxicants. He levied customs and transit duties, collected royalties from markets, and realised cesses approved by the Government.

The appointment of a *zamindar* was governed by the terms of his patent (*sanad*). Generally he had to pay a succession fee on his appointment as well as arrears due to the Government from the last incumbent of the post. On his appointment he had to execute a bond or *muchalka* covenanting to fulfil all his duties and obligations.

He was generally given an assignment of land for his maintenance, known as *nankar*. He was also allowed some percentage of land-revenue to meet the collection charges. He kept a police force and soldiers for the efficient discharge of his duties.

He exercised limited judicial powers, and summarily decided petty criminal cases. The mode of punishment was generally by fine which he kept to himself as his perquisite.

In the *parganah* there were four revenue officials the *shiqdar*, the *karkun*, the *fotadar* and the *qanungo*.

The *shiqdar* was the person who collected revenue from *zaildar*, *chaudhris* and cultivators.

The *Shiqdar*.

The Karkun.

The *karkun* was the accountant. He kept an account of the revenue payable by each cultivator and a record of arable and fallow land in his circle. He received statements from the village headman and the *patwari*, indicating the holding and the assessment of each cultivator. With the help of acknowledgment receipts issued to the cultivators he had to compare the statements sent by the *chaudhri* and the *patwari*. To those who paid revenue directly to him the *karkun* was to issue receipts countersigned by the treasurer. At the end of each harvest he prepared a statement showing arrears of land-revenue and taxes standing against each cultivator.

The Fotadar.

The treasurer was called the *fotadar*. The treasurer and the officer-in-charge of the *parganah* put separate locks on the doors of the treasury. If any coin was deficient in weight he had to charge a discount. At the end of the days' work the money was counted, and after comparing the ledger books of the treasurer and the accountant, the *parganah* officer had to make an endorsement about the cash balance. The treasurer had instructions not to agree to any expenditure without an order of the provincial *divan*.

The Qanungo.

The *qanungos* were " village revenue officers who recorded all circumstances within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realisation of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, assisting in the measurement and survey of the lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining, when required, local practices and public regulations ; they were paid by rent-free lands and various allowances and perquisites." (Wilson.)

The records and accounts kept by the *patwari* were subject to the *qanungo's* scrutiny. All disputes relating to boundries

alluvial and dilluvial irrigation, and assessments were referred to him. Sales and transfer of property were noted in his registers. The *qanungo* was paid Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 per month according to grade.

Dastur-ul-Amal.

The *qanungos* compiled codes indicating local usage and custom, known as *Dastur-ul-Amal.* They comprised 'a court guide, a civil list, an army list, a diary of the period, summaries of revenue returns, home and foreign; practical hints about measures, weights and coins, with itineraries and all manner of useful and instructive information." [1]

The *parganahs* were grouped in *dasturs* indicating the tracts where a particular set of local custom prevailed. The old *Dastur-ul-Amals* have now been substituted by *Wajib-ul-arz.*

The *karkun* and the *fotadar* and the *qanungo*, were appointed directly by the Crown. The first two officials were subordinate to the *parganah* officer, but the *qanungo* was not. It is apparent that though the zamindar or *parganah* officer exercised vast powers in his jurisdiction, the *karkun* and the treasurer acted as a check and the *qanungo* could always restrain him from his high-handedness.

Aurangzeb issued an order early in his reign that not more than two *chaudhries* and ten *qanungos* should be appointed in one *parganah* (*Mirat*, 263).

The Thanadar.

Apart from the revenue staff in every *parganah* or a group of *parganahs* there was a *thanadur.* He was mainly concerned with the maintenance of peace and order. He was appointed by the *faujdar.* He supplied recruits for the army and helped the *tahsildar* and the *shiqdar* in the collection of the revenue. He kept a police force under his control.

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1. *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p. 14*, Note.

The *Faujdar.*

Above the *parganah* was the *sarkar* which corresponds to a district of British India. It was in charge of a *faujdar* whose main duties were to keep order, to enforce payment of Government dues and suppress rebels and robbers. He was particularly enjoined not to dispossess any one from his rightful property, nor to levy any forbidden cess. The *faujdar* guarded the high roads, and if any merchant or traveller was robbed, he was obliged to pay compensation. [2]

The *faujdar* was the district commandant with a military force under his charge. He was forbidden to use his force against any village without a written request from the civil authorities.

The revenue staff at the headquarter consisted of the *amilguzar*, the *krori*, the *amin*, the *mutasaddi* and the district treasurer.

The *Amil.*

The *amilguzar* or *amil* was the collector of revenue and the entire *sarkar* or district was under his charge. He encouraged cultivation, gave loans to poor peasants, and had the lands measured. He took securities for the conduct of the land measurers, weighmen, and other officers in his department. He had to compare accounts kept by the *patwari* and the *karkun.* He was enjoined to encourage direct payment of revenue by the cultivators to the State without any intermediary. He kept an account of whatever was paid into the treasury and compared the cash balance with the journal of the *karkun.* He kept a register of rent free lands, and resumed the share of the defunct, the absentee, and those who were removed from offices. He had to send a monthly report to the *subahdar* about "the condition of the subjects, *jagirdars*, rebels, together with the market-prices of goods, the rent of houses and

2. Manucci, II. 450-451; Hamilton, I. 118; Ovington, 139.

shops, the state of *dervishes*, and artificers, and every other remarkable occurrence."

The *amil* also exercised judicial powers. If there was no *kotwal* in his district, he performed the duties of the latter as well.

The Krori.

The *krori* was so called because he was placed in charge of a tract yielding a revenue of one *kror* of *dam*, *i. e.*, 2½ lacs of rupees. This arrangement was introduced by Akbar but it was subsequently discontinued. The title of *krori*, however, continued and he came to be regarded as the collector of revenue.

It is difficult to specify the difference in the functions of the *amil* and the *krori*. But it seems that the *amil* was the head of the district and had to perform various other duties of administration; while the *krori* was probably subordinate to the *amil* and he confined himself to the work of revenue collection.[3] The *zamindar* was subordinate to the *krori*.

According to *Elliot's Glossary*, (I. p. 98), "Akbar's *krori* or collector of a *kror* of *dams*, received eight per cent on the amount of his realizations, together with perquisites. In A. D. 1639, under Shahjahan, the *krori* or *amil* was invested with the additional duties of *faujdar*, with an allowance of ten per cent on the collections. These percentages were subsequently modified in their details; under S'adullah Khan, five per cent only was allowed to the *krori*, and of this one per cent was subsequently deducted. This arrangement was upheld in Aurangzeb's reign, and lasted till the dissolution of the Empire."

3. Vincent Smith says, "The officers appointed to collect the revenue were styled *amils* or *kroris*." (*Akbar*, 371). I think *amils* and *kroris* were two distinct officers. See Aurangzeb's *firman* to Rasik-das where the two officers are separately mentioned. (*Mughal Administration* pp. 216, 218.)

The *amin* was an arbitrator between the crown and the cultivator. He was the assessment officer. His duties consisted in giving loans to cultivators for agricultural purposes, to see that the revenue was collected according to assessment, and supervise the work of the treasurer.

The *Amin*.

The revenues received at the district headquarters were checked by the *mutasaddi* who was a divisional accountant.

The *Mutasaddi*.

The *kotwal* was the head of the city police. He had under him a large body of cavalry and considerable foot-soldiers. The city was divided into wards and in each ward a horseman and twenty to thirty foot soldiers were stationed. He appointed a head-man for each ward who kept a journal and sent his daily report to the *kotwal*. The *kotwal* was responsible for the collection of debts and claims from the debtors. The clerks of the *kotwali* in Bengal used to seize for the State one-fourth of the money claimed as 'fee for exertion'. This practice was, however, abolished by Shaista Khan. (*Studies in Mughal India*, 166). The *kotwal* arrested thieves and criminals. It was his business to stop the distillation and sale of spirits. He had to see that there were no public women in the town. He was expected to know everything about everybody. He kept register of houses and persons, and watched the movements of strangers. He employed spies to gain information. He was expected to know the income and expenditure of every man, because if a man spent more than his income, he was certainly doing something wrong. It was his duty to see that the market prices were moderate ; he was not to allow anyone to buy more than was necessary for his consumption. He was responsible for the correct use of weights and measures. He was to discover thieves and stolen goods, otherwise he was answerable for the loss. He was to see that no one in the

The *Kotwal*.

town remained unemployed. He kept inventories of the property of persons dying intestate.

His Municipal duties.

The kotwal was not only the head of the police; he was also the "city father" performing Municipal duties. "He shall endeavour to keep free from obstructions the small avenues and lanes, fix barriers at the entrances, and see that the streets are kept clean." Ovington says that streets were cleaned by sweepers (p. 223) who, according to Manucci, were under the *kotwal*, and served as secret news-reporters. The *kotwal* had to see that particular ferries and wells were kept separate for the use of women only. He had to take care that the cemetery was outside the city. In case of fire he was to requisition the services of neighbours, and if anyone disobeyed the summons he was to be punished. [4]

Jails.

In every town where there was a *qazi* there was a jail. It was under the supervision of the *kotwal* or the collector of revenue. The prisoner was allowed to wear his own clothes and cook his own food. The Government did not provide him either with food or clothing. Usually the relatives of prisoners made the necessary arrangements. We find from a *firman* that Aurangzeb issued orders for providing poor prisoners with one seer of wheat daily and clothing for summer and winter. (*Mirat*, 305, 340). The Emperor issued orders in 1672 for the speedy trial of the prisoners. The governors were strictly enjoined to enquire into the cases of under-trial prisoners once every month, to release the innocent, and to issue directions for the quick trial of others. If any man was sent by the *qazi* for detention, the *kotwal* had to take a signed order from the former. If any date was fixed by the *qazi* for [illegible]l, the prisoner was

4. For duties of *kotwal* see *A*[illegible] 43; Manucci, II. 420-[illegible]; *Mirat*, 168-170; Ovington, 137.

to be sent to the *adalat* on the particular date: otherwise, the offender was to be sent to the court every day (*Mirat*, 282-283). Aurangzeb issued orders to *qazis* that no one should be put in custody except on legal grounds (*wajah-i-sharai*), and that the *kotwal* should not arrest any man except for theft, breach of peace and riot. (*Kalimat-i-Tayyabat*, by Enayatullah Khan p. 92. Abdus Salam collection, Muslim University, Aligarh).

Subah and Subahdar.

Above the *sarkar* was the *subah* or province under the *subahdar*. He had unlimited powers. His main duties were to keep order and to collect revenue. All the troops stationed in the province were under his charge. He collected tributes from vassal princes in his jurisdiction. He sent two despatches to Court every month reporting the occurrences of the province. He heard appeals from the judgments of the *qazi*.

The News-reporters.

At the provincial headquarters also resided the *Divan*, the *Bakhshi*, the *Sadr*, the *Buyutat*, and the Censor. They were practically independent of the Governor, especially the *Divan* who had the charge of state revenues and taxes. As a member in charge of finance and being the chief authority in all matters relating to land he was the head of the revenue administration, and exercised appellate powers regarding civil disputes. The duties of the *Bakhshi*, the *Sadr*, the *Buyutat* and the Censor have been described elsewhere, but these officers attached to the provinces exercised limited powers as compared to those residing at the imperial headquarters.

21 provinces.

There were 21 provinces during the time of Aurangzeb. Akbarabad, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Ajmere, Aurangabad, Bihar Berar, Bengal, Bidar, Bijapur, Haidarabad, Kabul, Khandesh,

Kashmir, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Oudh, Orissa, Shahjahanabad, and Tattah.

Checks and supervision.

The Mughal system of revenue collection had an elaborate organisation for checks and supervision. The accounts and papers of every official and officer from the village headman up to the *Divan* were subject to the closest scrutiny by an independent inspecting agency. The collections made by the village headman were checked by means of papers prepared by the *patwari* and the receipts given to the cultivators for revenue received. This was done by a *darogha.* The accounts of the *shiqdar* were checked by the *karkun.* The *amils* and *mutasaddis* compared the monthly statements sent by the *karkun*, the *qanungo* and the treasurer. The *amil* and the *mutasaddi* submitted separate returns to the provincial *Divan* whose clerks and assistants carefully checked all accounts.

Pay of the staff.

With few exceptions, the staff were generally not paid in cash The expenses of each department were met either by the assignments of land to the incumbents or by levy of *abwabs* or cesses or by allowing some percentage of collections. Gross revenues were never sent to the Central Government. The local authorities transmitted only net revenues after deducting the expenses of their departments which were a fixed sum and did not vary from year to year.

CHAPTER XXI.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Land-revenue system.

The main features of the Mughal land-revenue system were (*a*) measurement of land, (*b*) classification of land, (*c*) fixation of rates, and (*d*) periodical settlements.

For purposes of survey the *gaz* was the unit of measurement, which was equal to 41 digits or finger-breadths, or about 33 inches. The *tanab* or *jarib* (chain) was 69 *gaz*, and the *bigha* or unit of superficial measure, was 60 *gaz* square, or 3,600 square *gaz*.

The land was classified into four kinds, *viz.*, (1) *polaj* or land continuously cultivated, (2) *parauti* or land left fallow for a year or two in order to recover its strength, (3) *chachar* or land that had remained fallow for three or four years, (4) *banjar* or land uncultivated for five years or more. Each of the above classes was sub-divided into three grades, of which the mean was regarded to represent the average of the main class.

Parauti land paid the same revenue as *polaj*; *chachar* and *banjar* land, when brought under cultivation, were taxed progressively until in the fifth year they were assessed as *polaj*.

As regards the fixation of rates, it should be observed that the State dealt directly with the cultivator; there was no middleman as at present. The revenue was fixed on the actual area under cultivation. If a cultivator had, say, 20 *bighas* of land, and he cultivated only 15 *bighas* out of 20, the revenue was chargeable only on 15 *bighas*. Under the modern arrangement a cultivator must pay for his entire holding whether cultivated or not.

Payment in cash or kind.

One great advantage to the peasant during the Mughal rule was that he had the option to pay his revenue either in cash or kind. There were fixed rates for cash payment. If in any season the payment in cash was more profitable to the peasant he was free to make his choice. The system of payment in kind was wholly advantageous to the cultivator. In case of a bad harvest he had enough to feed himself and his family. He had no reason to run into debt for the sake of land-revenue alone. There is no doubt that as the payment was in kind he was often compelled by force to bring as much area under cultivation as was possible for him. But he derived as much benefit as the State. There was no starvation of the peasantry.

System of collection.

There were three systems of revenue collection: the *ghallabaksh*, the *zabti* and the *nasq*. The system of *ghallabaksh* was sub-divided into four kinds. (1) The *kankut* or estimation of crop by conjecture; (2) the *batai* where the grain heaped up in barns was divided according to agreement; (3) the *khet batai* where the land was divided after the field was sown; (4) and the *lang batai* where the crop was proportionately divided. Under *ghallabaksh* the state revenue was always vacillating. To eliminate the uncertainties of crop-division the *zabti* system was introduced by Akbar. Under this arrangement there was a fixed rate of assessment based on the nature of crop and the assessments of previous years. This was known as the Regulation system; it gave definiteness to the State's demands.

The *nasq* system was based on contract and agreement. This was a system under which the revenue was summarily assessed. It was prevalent mostly in newly conquered *subahs*.

The following were some of the salient features of the land-revenue system :

Some salient features.

(*a*) Loans were advanced to the cultivators not only at the time of calamity or distress, but whenever they were in need of money.

(*b*) If a peasant was too poor to make arrangement for the cultivation of his land, then the State let it out to another on lease, and after realising its revenue, allowed the original cultivator also to have some portion of the crop. The land was restored to him as soon as his financial condition improved.

(*c*) The cultivator could demand change of revenue from *muazzaf* (fixed revenue) to *muqasima* (division of crop). The State by itself could not alter the revenue without the consent of the peasant.

(*d*) In case of *khraj-i-muazzaf* the cultivator covenanted to pay a fixed revenue. But in case of calamity even the cultivators of this class were allowed liberal remissions. If the peasant got nothing out of the crop the entire revenue was remitted. In the commentary of the *firman* to Muhammad Hashim it is indicated that if ten *maunds* are usually produced in a field and on account of calamity six *maunds* only are left safe, then out of this only one *maund* should be taken as revenue, leaving the net half (*i. e.*, 5 *maunds*) to the cultivator. (*Studies in Mughal India.*)

(*e*) If the cultivator of a land, subject to fixed revenue died before cultivating it no revenue was

demanded if there was not enough ti[me for] sowing the field.

(*f*) A cultivator was allowed to let or mortgage hi[s] land, and the revenue was paid by the lesse[e] or the mortgagee.

(*g*) There was usually no eviction for default.[1]

State's share of revenue.

During the time of the early Khalifs the conquered territory was divided into *kharaj*-paying land and land of tithe. All those people who voluntarily recognised the authority of the Khalif were allowed to retain possession of their land on payment of *kharaj*. But the land which was conquered by force was liable to be divided among the Muslims who paid the tithe (*ushr*). There were thus two divisions of land—the land of *kharaj* and the land of tithe. In his *firman* to Muhammad Hashim, *Divan* of Gujrat, Aurangzeb ordered that in revenue matters the principles of Islamic Law should be followed which have been detailed in the *firman*. (*Mirat* 268). The sixth clause of the *firman* gives in a nut-shell the regulation fixed by Aurangzeb about the States share of revenue. "In places where no *kharaj* has been fixed on a cultivated land, fixed whatever should be fixed according to the Holy Law. In case of *kharaj* fix as much amount as may induce the ryots not to leave the land; and for no reason exceed half (the crop), though the land may be capable of paying more. Where the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it be *kharaj* the State's share should not exceed one-half, lest the ryots be ruined by the payment. Otherwise reduce the former *kharaj* and fix whatever the ryots can *easily* pay." The same rule applied to revenue by division of crop (*kharaj-i-muqasima*). Clause 16 of the *firman* runs thus:

1. This paragraph is mainly based on Aurangzeb's *firman* in *Mirat* 268-272, in which the principles of Islamic Law have been enunciated.

"If a man, whether Hindu or Muslim, is not the owner of a *kharaji* land, but is in possession of it by purchase or by mortgage, he should be allowed to enjoy whatever is produced in it. Collect from him whatever has been fixed, provided that if the revenue is more than one-half it should be decreased. If it be less (than one-third) increase it as you consider desireable" (*Mirat*, 272).

The preamble to the *firman* addressed to Rasik Das runs as follows:

"The *amins* assess the bulk of the villages and purganas at the beginning of the year on a consideration of the produce of the standard year and the most recent year (*sal-i-kamil wa sal-i-muttasil*), the culturable areas, the conditions and the resources of the peasants and other data; and should the peasants of any village refuse this procedure they assess the revenue on them at harvest by the procedure of measurement or estimation (*kankut*); and in some tracts, where the peasants are known to be poor and to lack the capital, they employ the procedure of crop division (*ghalla-baksh*), at the rate of half, or one-third or two-fifth or more or less."[2]

It is evident from the above that in Aurangzeb's time the revenue was not fixed at one half of the produce. As a general rule the minimum demand was one-third or one-fourth while the maximum was one-half. But in dealing with individual cases the *amins* were explicitly directed to assess that revenue which the tenants could *easily* pay. When we find that revenue was assessed not on the entire land in possession of a cultivator, but on the area actually under cultivation, and that the peasant was at liberty to make payments in cash or kind, and that there was usually no eviction for default, it is fair to assume that the burden on the cultivator was not as heavy as alleged by the critics.

Aurangzeb's order about realising half the produce has been wrongly interpreted. It was not meant that the revenue demand should be *increased* from one-third to one-half. The direction was that the demand should in no case exceed one-half the produce. From calculation we find that in the case

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1922, p. 27; *Mughal Administration*, 213-214.

of the worst kind of land the State's share could exceed one half of the produce. Hence the order. We have discussed this point in detail in the Note on pages 470-476.

Akbar generally took one-third of the average produce, but in Kashmir he took one-half.

Rate of Revenue in the Deccan.

Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty of the Deccan was marked by settlement operations conducted by Murshid Quli Khan. The entire land was surveyed and a regular system of assessment of revenue was inaugurated. Murshid Quli Khan adopted three methods for collecting the revenue. In some places a lump payment was fixed. In many other places the system of sharing the crop was introduced. He took half the produce in case of crops depending upon rainfall and one-third in case of crops depending upon wells.[3] The third method of revenue settlement was the Regulation System (*zabt*) previously described. "The standard or maximum government share was one-fourth of the total produce, whether grain or pot-herb, fruit or seed. The revenue at the fixed rate of so many rupees per bigha was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market-price, and actually measuring the sown area."[4]

It is clear from the preceding paragraph that the revenue ranged from one-fourth to one-half of the produce according to local conditions.

Bernier criticised.

In his letter to Colbert, denouncing the lack of 'the right Bernier, of private property,' has compared the prosperous condition of France with the miserable state of Asia in general and of India in particular. He speaks of "a tyranny often so excessive as to

3. *Dilkusha.*

4. *History of Aurangzeb*, I. 193-194.

deprive the peasant and the artisan of the necessaries of life ......a tyranny that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of some trooper......It is owing to this miserable system of government that most towns in *Hindustan* are made up of earth, mud and other wretched materials ; that there is no city or town which, if it be not already ruined and deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching decay." (226-227).

There can be no doubt that the structure of society and polity in India was considerably defective, and much of the poverty of the masses was due to inequitable division of land and the insecurity of tenure. But from time immemorial there were no freeholders in India except in Malabar and some other small tracts. Though the cultivator was theoretically a tenant-at-will, but in practice he was never evicted from his land as long as he continued to pay the revenue to the State. Bernier's remarks are based on loose generalisations and on an attempt to paint the whole canvas of Asia in sombre colours.

At the very time when Bernier was composing letters of fulsome flattery to Colbert, applauding the prosperous condition of his native country we find that there was an acute and widespread misery and distress throughout France. The country lived under the shadow of recurring famines. There were terrible famines in 1662, 1684, 1693-94, and 1709. Colbert adopted disastrous measures for regulating the trade in corn. His biographer has been compelled to admit that "he brought matters to such a pass that in a country which can support nearly 40,000,000 inhabitants, a portion of the 20.000.000 or 22.000.000 which then peopled it

were compelled every third year to live on grass, roots, and the bark of trees, or to die of hunger."[5]

Bernier's bias is illustrated by another instance in which he deplores the apalling ignorance prevailing in India. "A profound and universal ignorance," says he, "is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it possible to establish in Hindustan, academies and colleges properly endowed? Where shall we seek for founders? Or, should they be found, where are the scholars? Where are the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at colleges?" (*Travels*, 229). Bernier's remarks are so manifestly absurd that not much argument is needed to demolish his thesis. The pages of N. N. Law's book *Promotion of learning in India during Muhammedan rule* are replete with the efforts made by Muslim rulers to promote the cause of education. "It is difficult to imagine," writes Rev. F. E. Keay, "how such a melancholy view of the state of education could have been taken by this seventeenth century traveller......Like many other visitors from the west, Bernier no doubt judged the state of affairs in India too much by European standards, and relied too much on casual observation for the formation of his opinion."[6]

India under Aurangzeb was not such a desolate country as Bernier has described. "From Brampur to Seronge" writes Tavernier, "is an hundred and one costes, which are longer than those from Surat to Brampur.....In these hundred leagues of the country you travel whole days journeys along by most fertile fields of corn and rice, being lovely champaign, where you meet with very little wood; and from Seronge to

5. *Histoire de la Vie et de l'Administration de Colbert*, par Pierre Clement, Paris, 1846, p. 274; *The Economic Transition in India*, p. 102. See also *post*, under head-note, Famine.

6. *Ancient Indian Education*, 129.

Agra, the country is much of the same nature ; and because the villages lie thick together, your journey is the more pleasant" (p. 45). "All the country between these two cities (*i.e.*, Surat and Broach) is full of corn, rice, millet and sugar-canes." (p. 52).

Bernier's remarks are often too sweeping and not based on careful observation. In spite of unprecedented security and better distribution of wealth, the houses in villages even to this day "are made up of earth, mud, and other wretched materials." This alone cannot be an index of the 'tyranny' so eloquently described by Bernier.

Manucci's opinion of Indian peasant.

It is interesting to record the opinion of Manucci about Indian peasants. Though European travellers are often misled by stray events, the following quotation reveals the spirit of the times. Says he :

"It is quite true that if the common people here have four rupees, they are quite high and mighty and decline service. It is only when they have nothing to eat that they take service. They have no skill unless it is enforced on them by harsh treatment." "For the people of India never pay without being forced, and to collect half the total quantity of supplies that they are under obligation to pay to the crown, it is necessary to tie up the principal husbandmen. It is the peasant's habit to go on refusing payment, asserting that they have no money. The chastisement and the instruments are very severe. From time to time they pay a trifling instalment, and the punishment being renewed again and again, they begin to pay little by little."

"In this way, little by little, the peasants pay what they owe. This habit is much honoured among husbandmen—that is, never to pay readily; and to undergo these torments and this disgrace is among them an honour."[7]

Rent and revenue demand in 1930 and 1933.

Much has been said against the pressure exerted by the State on the peasants during Aurangzeb's reign. It will be profitable to find out if and to what extent the burden on the cultivator has been lightened during the

7. Manucci, II 450—451.

present time. The following statistics compiled from official papers relates to Bahraich, a district in Oudh.

Article.	Price per rupee in 1930.	Price per rupee in 1933.	Produce per acre.	Total price of produce according to column 2.	Total price of produce according to column 3.
1	2	3	4	5	6
				Rs. a.	Rs. a
1. Wheat ...	11 seers.	17 seers.	10 Mds.	36 6	23 8
2. Barley ...	10 ,,	27 ,,	5 ,,	20 0	7 7
3. Gram ...	11 ,,	21 ,,	8 ,,	29 1	15 4
4. Millet, big (*Makka*).	15 ,,	31 ,,	15 ,,	40 0	19 6
5. Millet, small (*Laherra*).	15 ,,	27 ,,	4 ,,	10 11	5 15
			Total ...	136 2	71 8

The price of 5 articles have been indicated in the above table. If we divide Rs. 136-2 and Rs. 71-8 by 5 we will get the average price of grain per acre which excluding pies comes to Rs. 27-4 and Rs. 14-5 for 1930 and 1933 respectively. The total area of Bahraich Tahsil, including forest and *abadi* is 5,28,624 acres, while the government revenue is Rs. 5,26,869. If we divide the former by the latter we will get the incidence of the revenue per acre which is one rupee and a fraction of a pie.

The actual area under cultivation is 385,911 acres, while the area of culturable land including *banjar* (fallow) is 483,263 acres. Calculating on the above basis the incidence of government revenue per acre will be Re. 1-6 and Re. 1-1 respectively. From settlement papers, however, we find that in some areas the revenue ranges between Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 per acre.

The average price of produce per acre has been indicated to be Rs. 27-4 and Rs. 14-5 for 1930 and 1933 respectively. If we multiply the total area under cultivation by Rs. 27-4 and Rs. 14-5 we shall get the price of the total produce of the entire sub-division. If from this total we deduct the amount of rent payable by the tenants, which is Rs. 22,19,485, we shall get a balance indicating the saving to the cultivator. The sub-joined table gives the result of the calculations:

	Government revenue per acre.	Saving to the zamindar per acre,		Saving to the tenant per acre.		Total price of produce per acre.	
	Re.	Rs.	as.	Rs.	as.	Rs.	as.
1930	1	5	5	20	15	27	4
1933	1	5	5	8	0	14	5

Out of Rs. 27-4 the tenant had to part with Rs. 6-5 in 1930, while he had to pay the same amount out of Rs. 14-5 in 1933. Before the present depression the tenant had to pay a little less than one-fourth of the gross produce.

During the Mughal rule the State dealt directly with the tenants who paid one-third of the produce. On the basis

of Rs. 27-4 they would have paid Rs. 9-1-4; while on the basis of Rs. 14-5 the State's share would have been Rs. 4-12-4 *i. e.*, Rs. 1-8-8 less than the present demand.

According to an official document, "the Government of India believe it to be an entirely erroneous idea that it is either possible or equitable to fix the demand of the State at a definite share of the gross produce of the land. There is great practical difficulty in ascertaining what the average produce is."[8] I, however, find from the statistics collected from three districts in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh that the proportion to produce of the gross rental ranges from one-fourth to one-fifth. The recorded demand on the cultivators may be less today than what it was in the Mughal period but in practice, apart from many illegal demands on the peasants, the immense rise in the cost of life has neutralised the effect of the saving which is more apparent than real.

King's share in Hindu period.

Stress is often laid on the fact that during the Hindu period the State's share of revenue was much lighter than what prevailed during the Muslim rule. Even a slight acquaintance with the literature of the period will reveal the untenability of the thesis. We have elsewhere referred to the *Arthasastra* of Chanakya. We find the following in Book II, Chapter XXIV: "Fields that are left unsown may be brought under cultivation by employing those who cultivate for half the share of the produce; or those who live by their own physical exertion may cultivate such fields for one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce grown." "In such parts of his countries as depend solely upon rain for water

8. *Land revenue policy of the Indian Government* published by order of the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta, 1902.

and are rich in grain, he may demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to their capacity."[9] Megasthenes says, "The second caste consists of husbandmen. ......They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil."[10] This means that the State took one-half of the produce.

On consultation of other authorities we find some difference of opinion. For example, Apastamba says, "Land might be let against a half or other share of the produce." Gautama says, "cultivators must pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eight, or one-sixth of the produce." Visnu, on the other hand, maintains that only a sixth part of every kind of crop was to be paid, while a sixth, an eighth or even a twelth part of the crops is allowed by Manu. The *Mahabharata*, allowed a sixth part, and so did the *Markandaya Purana*.

The *Sutraniti* says, "The king should realise one-third, one-fourth or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells by rain and rivers, respectively."[11]

We have in the previous pages described the assessments made by Murshid Quli Khan in the Deccan which exactly tallies with the arrangement noted in the *Sutraniti*. From a comparison of rates, it is obvious that Aurangzeb did not demand more than what was collected by the Hindu kings.

9. Compare the assessment on *banjar* land during Mughal rule when one or two seers of grain per *bigha* were demanded in the first year, 5 seers in the second year, 1/6th of produce in the third year, 1/4th in the fourth year, and 1/3rd in the fifth and subsequent years.

10. *Ancient India*, 39-40.

11. J. N. Samadar, *The Glories of Magadh*, p. 111-112.

Revenue of the Mughals.

The revenue statistics of the Mughals have been collected by many authors, but the interpretation of the dumb figures is not free from difficulty. It has not been possible to ascertain whether the sum total represents the "standard assessment" (*Jama-i-kamil*) or the demand of some particular year (*Jama-i-wajib*) or the actual collections (*Jama-i-wasuli*). Any inference, therefore, drawn from the figures is more or less conjectural.

Thomas in his *Revenue Resources*, p. 54, gives the following "Recapitulation of the amount of the revenues of the Mughal Empire at various periods, rejecting all imperfect returns":—

	Mughal Emperors.	Authority.	Land Revenue.	Revenue from all sources.
1	Akbar, A. D. 1593.	Nizam-ud-din Ahmad.	...	£ 32,000,000
2	,, ,, 1594.	Abul Fazl, Mss. ...	£ 16,574,388	...
3	,, ,, ...	Official Documents...	£ 16,582,440	...
4	,, ,, 1605.	Indian authorities quoted by De. Laet. ...	£ 17,450,000	...
5	Jahangir, ,, 1609. 1611.	Captain W. Hawkins.	...	£ 50,000,000
6	,, ,, 1628.	Abdul Hamid Lahori.	£ 17,500,000	...
7	Shahjahan ,, 1648-1649.	,,	£ 22,000,000	...
8	Aurangzeb ,, 1655.[12]	Official documents.	Gross £ 26,743,970; Nett £ 24,056,114	...
9	,, ,,	Later official documents.	Gross £ 35,641,431; Nett £ 34, 505,890	...
10	,, ,, 1695.	Gemelli Careri ...	...	£ 80,000,000
11	,, ,, 1697.	Manucci (Catrau) ...	£ 77,438,800	...
12	,, ,, 1707.	Ramusio ...	£ 30,179,692	...

12. Thomas is wrong in putting this under Aurangzeb. The reign of the latter began in 1658.

Thomas, writing in 1871, had Gladwin's translation of the *Ain* before him. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in following Jarrett's translation discovered obvious errors in the figures recorded in the *Ain*. After corrections, his total of Akbar's revenue excluding Kabul is Rs. 13,21,36,831, while Thomas gave Rs. 13,38,38,552, as the total revenue. (*India of Aurangzeb*, xxxi).

According to Manucci (II. 413-15) the land-revenue during Aurangzeb's reign from all provinces except Oudh was Rs. 38,72,59,000. William Irvine quotes the statement of revenues prepared for Bahadur Shah in 1707 on the basis of the *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* of Jag Jivan Das Gujarati, according to which the last recorded receipts amounted to Rs. 18,99,34,863. The standard assessment was Rs. 33,26,96,241. "This brings into relief," writes Irvine, "the great exaggeration of Manucci's figures which are about £ 5,000,000, in excess of the assumed standard land revenue demand of seven years later than his time; while the actual demand for that later year was £ 16,000,000."[13]

According to Bernier, the land revenue of Aurangzeb for twenty Provinces was Rs. 22,59,35,500 or £22,593,550.[14] Thomas thinks that the above figures "bear the stamp of a certain degree of authenticity, and, allowing for deficiencies, they fairly fit in with the prior and subsequent returns."

From a manuscript prepared in the ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign we find that the land revenue of nineteen *Subahs* (*i. e.* excluding Golkunda and Bijapur) was *dams* 92,47,916,082, which is equivalent to Rs. 23,11,97,902.[15] From the statement of Jag Jivan Das who indicated the

13. *Storia*, II. 416.

14. Bernier, 454-8.

15. *Aina-i-Bakht* by Bakhtawar Khan, f. 214-b., Abdus Salam Collection, Muslim University, Aligarh.

revenue of twenty-one provinces, we find that Golkunda and Bijapur yielded Rs. 8,76,70,000. If we add this to the total of the *Aina-i-Bakht* we get Rs. 31,88,67,902. This approximately corresponds with the standard assessment of Rs. 33,26,96,241 of all the provinces, as given by Jag Jivan Das. We are, therefore, on safe ground, if we state that the actual receipts in Aurangzeb's reign were about nineteen ·rors of rupees, as indicated by Jag Jivan Das.

The following table indicating the revenue of the provinces, ·cluding Kabul, is given in the *India of Aurangzeb* xxx, ii :—

		Rs.		
94 (*Ain-i-Akbari*)	...	13,21,36,331	(for 16 *Subhas*)	...
48 (*Badshah-nama*)	...	21,15,00,000	(„ 19 „)	
654 (*Dastur-al-amal*)	...	26,35,12,752	(„ 18 „)	...
665? (Bernier)	...	22,06,70,500	(„ 18 „)	Omitting Bengal.
1695 (*Khulasat*)	...	30,12,76,425	(„ 17 „)	
1697 (Manucci)	...	38,30,39,552	(„ 21 „)	Omitting Bengal.
1700? (Dastur, Ms. C) 16	...	33,68,16,584	(„ 30 „)	
1707 (Ramusio)	...	29,77,70,876	(„ 20 „)	
1720? (Chahar Gulshan)	...	30,40,76,776	(„ 19 „)	Omitting Orissa.

Mr. Moreland's conclusions challenged.

Mr. Moreland in detailing the statistics of Mughal land revenue has come "to the conclusion that during our period administrative pressure on the peasants increased so seriously as to affect the productive resources of the Mughal Empire." (*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 260). According

16. The M. S. used by Sir Jadunath Sarkar is MS, D—163 of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It is referred to by Thomas on p. 40, line 3, of the foot note (*Rev. Res*).

to him the index for nine provinces rose from 129 at the accession of Shahjahan to 175 in the end of his reign and in the early years of Aurangzeb, the revenue demand under Akbar being fixed at 100 as the basis of calculation. It is urged that the increase in revenue was not due to corresponding increase in cultivation, but to enhanced assessment. We, however, find that the area of measured land rose considerably in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. In the sixteen Indian provinces of Akbar, the area of measured land rose from 12,70,60,440 *bighas* in 1594 to 27,81,76,156 1/20 *bighas* in 1720—an increase of nearly 119 p. c. (*India of Aurangzeb*, xxviii). Though the cultivated area increased by 119 p. c. the revenue demand rose only to 75 p. c; enhanced revenue is, thus, not a correct basis for deducing a high rate of assessment.

From the statistics provided by Jag Jivan Das, we find that though the standard assessment of revenue was Rs. 33,26,96,241, the actual collections amounted to Rs. 18,99,34,863, *i. e.*, a little above one-half of the actual demand. In other words, even if the revenue was assessed at one-half the produce, the cultivators actually paid, at a rate equivalent to a little above one-fourth of the produce. The theory of increasing pressure on the peasants during Mughal rule is, therefore, wholly conjectural.

NOTE ON MR. MORELAND'S THESIS[1].

In his scholarly work *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Mr. W. H. Moreland has come to the conclusion that the condition of the peasantry very much deteriorated during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, and became still worse during the time of Aurangzeb. His thesis is based on the following data:

1. Akbar insisted on cash payment to his officials, while in succeeding reigns they were paid by assignment of land (*jagir*) which 'gave increased scope for tyranny within the village.'

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1. Pages indicated in the bracket in this Note refer to Mr. Moreland's book.

2. Summary settlements of revenue.

3. Increasing pressure on the cultivator to extend the area under crops beyond the economic possibilities of time.

4. Standard of assessment raised from one-third of the gross produce to one-half.

I shall prove that Mr. Moreland's contentions are incorrect, and that he drew his conclusions from premises which are not based on facts. The testimony of European travellers or residents in India is valuable in many ways, but it is necessary to observe that generally they fail to appreciate the spirit of royal orders. Their interpretations are often at variance with actualities. To quote one instance, every European traveller noticed the law of escheat prevailing during the Mughal period and rushed to the conclusion that the property of every man was confiscated after his death. But the fact was that the property of only those men were escheated who had dealing with the Government and who had borrowed a loan and had failed to discharge their debt. (Rogers, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 8). As we have dealt with this subject in Chapter xix, we need not pursue it further. Caution demands that the remarks of European writers should be subjected to scrutiny.

We shall discuss Mr. Moreland's contentions *ad seriatim*.

1. Assignment of land. It is admitted that the system of assigning land or *jagir* to officials, instead of making cash payments, prevailed in India even before the Mughals. It is also a fact that Akbar endeavoured to make cash payments as far as possible. But I have not come across any order of Akbar abolishing the system of *jagir* altogether. In fact, the great Bengal revolt of 1580 was partly due to the resentment provoked by his insisting on the resumption of *jagirs*. But the system persisted.

Mr. Moreland says, "I have not traced any instance of a farm of the land revenue being granted during Akbar's later years." (p. 250). I will set out the following evidence against the above statement.

Before dealing with Akbar's later years, we may point out that after the conquest of Gujarat the Emperor granted extensive *jagirs* to his nobles in the province. Ahmadabad was given to Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, Baroda to Naurang Khan, Patan to Mir Muhammad Khan (uncle of Mirza Aziz) and Baroach to Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan. The entire *mahal* of Gujarat was given away in *jagir* (*Mirat*, 119).

In 1589, Jalor (in Gujarat) was assigned as *jagir* to Gharnin Khan (*Mirat*, 171). The *firman* issued in 1591 against the collection of *zakat* is addressed both to *amils* of *khalsa* (crown-land) and to *jagirdars*. (*Mirat* 172) In the same year some people complained to the Emperor that the

agents of the Government and those of the *jagirdars* in Gujarat were collecting cesses beyond the sanctioned scale. Instructions were issued to officers of crownland as well as to *jagirdars* of the province to collect the cess according to the fixed rate (*Mirat*, 173). The author of the *Mirat*, describing the rebellious nature of the Kolis, mentions the assignment of *jagirs* to officers who were required to maintain a body of horsemen to keep the Kolis under control. (*Mirat* p. 174). We find that in 1591, the brothers of Qilich Khan had Surat as their *jagir*, and that the sons of Ismail Quli Khan were the biggest *jagirdars* in the province. (*Mirat*, 175). After the defeat of Muzaffar Shah, the ex-king of Gujarat at Navanagar in 1591, we are told, that the *umrahs* went back to their respective *jagirs*. *Mirat* 177. After the capture of Muzaffar Shah, in 1593, Abdurrahim (Khan-i-Khanan), sent back Naurang Khan, Gujar Khan and Khwaja Ashraf to their *jagirs* (*Mirat*, 181). It seems that Khan-i-Khanan did not receive any cash payment, as he had his *jagir* in Gujarat in 1600-1601. (*Mirat*, 183). There were many *jagirdars* in Malwa. (*Mirat* 183.)

Immediately after ascending the throne, Jahangir issued twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct of which Nos. 1, 2, 8, and 12 are reproduced below:

1. "Forbidding the levy of cesses under the names of *tamgha* and *mir bahri* (river tolls), and other burdens which the *jagirdars* of every province and district had imposed for their own profit."

2. "On roads where thefts and robberies took place, which roads might be at a little distance from habitations, the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood should build *sarais* (public rest-houses), mosques, and dig wells, which might stimulate population ...."

(8) "I gave an order that the officials of the crown lands and the *jagirdars* should not forcibly take the ryot's lands and cultivate them on their own account."

(12) "I gave an order that the offices and *jagirs* of my father's servants should remain as they were" (Rogers and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, 7, 8, 9.)

It is clear from the evidence set forth above that the system of granting *jagir* prevailed down to the very end of Akbar's reign. Jahangir's reference to *jagirdars* in the very first regnal year proves beyond doubt that the allotment of *jagir* had become very common in the preceding reign.

It should be noted that the *jagirdars* usually did not exercise any executive power in their jurisdiction; they were mere collectors of revenue. In other words, they did not act either as executive or as revenue officers in the tract held by them as *jagir*; they had no authority to alter the

amount of revenue demand or the system of payment. They were as much bound by the rules of revenue department as the officers of the crown-land. Generally they did not hold any office in the district in which their *jagir* was situated. Their position was little different from that of the modern *zamindar* or *taluqdar*.

We have not been able to ascertain the respective revenue demands from the crown-lands and the *jagirdars* during Aurangzeb's reign. But we find that in 1690 there were 7,500 *mansabdars* who were paid in cash, and 4,000 who held *jagirs*.

2. Summary settlement of revenue.

It is suggested that Akbar had forbidden the practice of making summary settlements, but Aurangzeb reverted to it. Mr. Moreland says: "Orders which were issued by Aurangzeb to take effect from the eighth year of his reign (A. D. 1665-66) show that by this time the normal procedure was that which Akbar had prohibited: The assessors proposed each year a lump sum based on general considerations, and applied Akbar's methods in detail only when a village or a larger area refused to accept their proposals." (p. 352).

As the above view is based on Aurangzeb's *firmans*, [2] we shall consider them in detail to find out whether the text justifies the conclusion arrived at by the learned author.

The preamble to the *firman* to Rasik Das, as translated by Mr. Moreland, has been previously noticed. The version given in the *Mughal Administration* is as follows: "The agents of the imperial Court have reported, after inquiry among the officers of the *parganas* of Crownlands and fiefs (*taiul*) of jagir-holders, that at the beginning of the current year the *amins* of the *parganas* of the imperial dominions ascertain the revenue of many of the *mauzas* and *parganas* from a consideration of the produce (*hasil*) of the past year and the year preceding it, the area capable of cultivation, the condition and capability of the ryots and other points. And if the ryots of any village do not agree to this procedure, they fix the revenue at the time of harvesting by (*actual*) survey or estimated valuation of crop. And in some of the villages, where the cultivators are known to be distressed and deficient in capital, they follow the practice of division of crops (*ghalla-bakhsi*) at the rate of one half, one-third, two-fifths, or more or less."

2. Text of the *firmans* with translations in *Journal* A. S. B., June 1906. Translation in *Studies in Mughal India*, 168-197, and *Mughal Administration*, 197-223 Text of the *firman* to Muhammad Hashim in *Mirat*, 268-272.

When revenue was fixed after considering '*the condition and capability of the ryots, and other points*', it cannot be said that the assessment was arbitrary. Whatever may have been the practice before the eighth regnal year, since 1665, however, Aurangzeb ordered the revenue officers to inquire into 'the true state of the crops and cultivators of every village', and at the beginning of the year to inquire, village by village into the number of cultivators and ploughs, and the extent of the area (under tillage) and '*with attention to details* assess the revenue in such a way as to benefit the Government and *give ease* to the ryots.' The sixth clause of the *firman* runs thus: 'When you yourself go to a village, for learning the true condition of the *parganas*, *view the condition and appearance of the crops*, the capability of the ryots, and the amount of the revenue. If in apportioning (the total revenue among the villagers) justice and correctness have been observed to every individual, fair and good. But if the *chaudhri* or *muqaddam* or *patwari* has practised oppression, conciliate the ryots and give them their dues."

From the foregoing quotations it is clear that revenue was assessed by estimating the crop and by considering various other details.

We have previously described the three systems of settlement, namely, *ghallabaksh*, *zabt* and *nasq*.

The *nasq* was the summary settlement in which there was no necessity for measuring lands. But in the *zabt* or Regulation system revenue was fixed after measuring the sown area and considering the quality of land and the market-price of the grain. This kind of revenue became known as *kharaj-i-mauzzaf*: the payment of revenue by the division of crop was known as *kharaj-i-muqasima*.

In the firman to Muhammad Hashim issued in 1668-69. A.D there are frequent references to *kharaj-i-muazzaf* and *kharaj-i-muqasima*, but there is not a word about summary settlement. The seventh clause of the *firman* decides the point in issue. It says that that only the cultivator could change fixed revenue into share of crop or *vice versa*. The revenue officers had no option in the matter; and a cultivator would naturally choose that method of settlement which he found best to his advantage. If the settlement, which Mr. Moreland calls summary, did not suit the tenants, they were at liberty to choose the alternate methods. Apart from this, we are not in a position to say that the pitch of revenue in summary settlement was higher than in the case of *zabt*. No evidence has been cited that summary settlement was necessarily oppressive. When revenue officers were directed to acquaint themselves with the condition of each individual peasant and then make an assessment such settlement cannot be said to be summary. The *firmans*, clearly prove that the assessment was never arbitrary. It depended mainly on the capability of the ryot.

While discussing the summary settlement, it will be proper to describe the different systems prevailing in the provinces in the time of Akbar. We find that the system of *Nasq* prevailed in Bengal, Berar, and Gujarat; *ghallabaksh* in Kashmir, Ajmere and Sindh, and the *zabt* in the remaining provinces. There were 'unmeasured lands' in Bihar consisting of 61 *parganahs*; it follows that the revenue was assessed by estimation of crop or by means of summary settlement. The *Ain* does not give the measurement of Allahabad and Khandesh, thereby indicating that the *zabt* system did not obtain there. Even in those provinces where *zabt* prevailed we find several *parganahs* without any mention of the extent of their areas. This denotes either crop-division or summary assessment.

As much has been written about the perfection of the system inaugurated by Akbar we might quote the impressions of Badayuni with advantage. He says, "In this year (1574) an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country and for bettering the condition of the ryots. All the *parganas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, in towns or hills, deserts or jungles......were to be measured..... so that in three year's time all the uncultivated land might be brought under crops. ......Rules were laid down but were not properly observed, and much of the land was laid waste through the rapacity of the *Croris*; the peasants' wives and children were sold and dispersed, and everything went to confusion." (II. 189.)

3. The extension of the area of cultivation beyond the economic possibilities of time.

No details have been given to show that the area of cultivation during the reign of Aurangzeb exceeded beyond the capability of the peasant, nor are we told about the extent of 'the economic possibilities of time.' There is no doubt that the Emperor suggested the use of whip, but only in the case of those cultivators who *abstained* from cultivation, in spite of having means to cultivate, and of a favourable season. Force was not suggested to be used for extending the area of cultivation. In the *firman* to Rasik Das the revenue officers were ordered to 'use conciliation and reassurances in gathering together cultivators from all sides with praise-worthy diligence," and to "conciliate the ryots and give them their dues." In the *firman* to Muhammad Hashim, the officers are asked to "practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that the cultivators may *joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation*, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage." (*Mughal Administration*, 197).

When the State was at all times willing to advance money, to provide implements of agriculture, and to dig wells for irrigation, it is obvious that the Government did its best to improve the economic condition of the cultivators. The extension of cultivation under the above circum-

stances, therefore, could not be said have exceeded "beyond the economic possibilities of time."

4. The pitch of revenue was raised from one-third to one-half of the produce. We have fully dealt with this point in the preceding pages. Even a cursory examination of Aurangzeb's *firmans* will indicate that the Emperor was anxious to demand only that amount of revenue which the cultivators could easily pay. The extent of minimum and maximum demands were definitely laid down, but it is extremely difficult to ascertain the actual working of the rules. It cannot be denied that in many instances there would have been clashes between practice and precept. At the same time the possibility of lenient and equitable treatment should not be ruled out. I think the normal demand was much the same as in the time of Akbar.

Manucci and Ovington declare that the State's share was one-half of the produce. I am inclined to think that the European writers have been misled. From the chart given in the *Ain* we find that one *bigha* of the best, the middling and the worst sort of land yielded 17 maunds, 12 maunds 20 seers, and 9 maunds 15 seers of rice respectively. The aggregate produce of the three *bighas* is 38 maunds 35 seers. The average produce per *bigha* comes to 12 maunds 38½ seers. The State's share was 4 maunds 13 seers. It is obvious that in relation to the worst kind of land (yielding 9 maunds 15 seers) the demand was equal to about half the produce. It was on account of this demand that the European writers were led to remark that the revenue was fixed at one-half of the produce. It should, however, be noted that in relation to the best kind of land the revenue comes to about one-fourth of the produce. The probable interpretation of Aurangzeb's order that the revenue should not exceed one-half of the total yield is that if the produce of the worst kind of land in any year decreased beyond the average even then the revenue demand should not go beyond one-half. As noted above, the average yield of the worst kind of land was 9 maunds 15 seers, and the State's share was 4 maunds 13 seers. If in any year the produce amounted to say, only 8 maunds, then the revenue should be 4 maunds and not 4 maunds 13 seers which was the average demand.

As indicated above, the average produce per bigha was 12 maunds 38½ seers; half the share will be 6 maunds 19¼ seers. If the State took half the average produce then in relation to the worst kind of land it actually took more than two-thirds which does not seem to be at all reasonable.

I have indicated the probabilities of error which a superficial observer was likely to commit. Generalisations are easy to make but they are not safe guides. My impression is that conditions in Aurangzeb's time were much the same as in the reign of Akbar.

CHAPTER XXII.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS-(*Continued*).

Taxation

Apart from the land revenue, the government had other sources of income. They were known as *sá, ir* and *abwab.* These imposts included customs duties, taxes on property, transit duties, ferry tolls taxes on sale of produce, cattle and merchandise, fees for squatting in market places, and discount on exchange of coins etc. Some of these taxes were levied by the central government, some by the governors as provincial rates and others by district officers as local cesses.

Heads of imperial revenue.

The Imperial heads of revenue, as stated by Manucci (II. 415-17), were Tribute, Customs Duty Mines, Mint, Escheats, and Presents. To this list may be added the income from

Jizyah.

The total receipts from tributes offered by vassal Rajas are nowhere mentioned. But the amount must have been conisderable; Golkunda and Bijapur alone paid a very lerge sum.

Customs Duty.

The customs were usually administered along with the land revenue. They were usually entered as *mahals* (heads of receipt) in the *mal* (land revenue), and not in the *sá, ir* (miscellaneous) accounts. Most of the *sá, ir* items (fines, market dues, ferry tolls) were collected by the police—that is, by the *kotwals* and *faujdars.* The customs duties were fixed by the Emperor, and were sometimes assigned to a high *mansabdar.*

According to Tavernier, "particular merchants pay from 4 to 5 per cent at the customs-house for all sorts of ware. But for the English and Holland Company, they pay less...Gold and silver pay two in the hundred."

The rates on imports were generally 2½ per cent. but in 1680 "the government of Surat, by the special order of Aurangzeb, increased the duties of all the Europern imports from 2 to 3½ per cent, which was intended to equal their rates to the poll-tax established on all his subjects not Mahomedans, in the Empire." [1]

Evasion of tax.

European merchants and travellers have complained of over-valuation of goods by customs authorities. It cannot be denied that in many intances their grievances were justified. But there was the other side of the picture as well. Evasion of customs duty was common, and yet when the delinquent was caught he was let off only on payment of double tax, as against the practice prevailing in Europe. "They (*i. e.*, the merchants) do all they can to shift off paying the customs; and that, so much the rather, because they do not run so much hazard as at the customs-houses of Europe. For in the Indian customs-houses if a man be caught in the fraud, he is quitted by paying double."

How the concessions granted to the English Company were misused is related below. "The king had granted to the English Captains, that they should not be searched when they came ashore. But one day one of the English Captains going to Tata,...he was stopped by the officers of the customs-house, who searched and rifled him, whatever he could allege to the contrary. They found gold about him, of which he had already carried off several qualities at several times..., but they quitted him, upon paying the usual custom." "As for what concerns the heads of the Companies, as well English, as Dutch, and their associates, they have so great a respect for them, that they never search them at all, when they come ashore, though they will not stick to conceal their gold."[2]

1. Orme, *Fragments* 96.

2. Tavernier, 7-9

In Chapter VI (pp. 164 170) we have dealt with regulations about customs duty. By an order issued in 1665 customs duty was fixed at 2½ per cent in the case of Muslims and 5 per cent in that of Hindu traders. In 1667 the duty on Muslim traders was altogether abolished, while the Hindus were taxed as usual. We, however, find from a letter, dated 22nd March, 1668 sent from India to England that the discriminating rate of duty was cancelled. The letter runs as follows. "What I advised in my former concerning the Great Moguls taking off the customs from the Moors and laying them on the Gentoos was then true; yet hee hath made manifest that his laws are not like the lawes of the Medes and Persians, for hee hath altered and abolished that edict, laying the customes equally on both; having made a decree that whatsoever was imposed in his father Shahjahan's time should be paid."[1] It seems that the rate prevailing in Shahjahan's time was retained till 1682 when it was again revised; the Muslims then paid 2½ per cent while the Hindus paid 5 per cent.[2]

Rate of Customs Duty.

The mines were owned by the State. Merchants were allowed to dig the mines on payment of a fee. In the diamond mines of Golkundah any stone weighing above three-eights of an ounce belonged to the Crown.[3]

Mines.

The State charged a discount on coining bullion into current money. According to Manucci (II. 417) the government derived eleven lacs as profit from new coin struck at Surat. But the figure seems to be high. The duty payable to the State is given in the *Ain* part I and *Mirat* p. 304.

Mints.

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1. Public Record Office: C. O. 77, Vol. XI fol 70 quoted in *English Records on Sivaji*, I. 121.

2. *Mirat*, 298 99; Hamilton, I. 89, 96.

3. Storia, II. 417.

Escheats.

Apparently the income from escheats would appear to be considerable. But it is doubtful whether on considering both the debit and the credit side of the transaction the gain was in favour of the State. The *mansabdars* freely took loans from the Government which, however, did not charge any interest on the money advanced. Though after the death of the debtors their entire property was confiscated, yet there must have been many instances when the assets fell short of the liabilities.

Presents.

Previously presents made to the Emperor were treated as private property of the Emperor, but Aurangzeb ordered that these belonged to the *Bait-ul-mal* of which the sovereign was only the trustee and not the owner.[6] Previous to this in 1677 he had abolished the making of presents to him by the nobles of his court on the occasion of his coronation anniversary.

Jizyah.

The receipts derived from the *Jizyah* in Aurangzebs' reign is not known, but when the tax was abolished by Muhammad Shah in 1720, it yielded about four *krors* of rupees annually.[7]

Provincial rates and local cesses.

As related in a previous chapter, the charges of general administration were met by assignments of land, percentages on revenue collections, and the levy of miscellaneous imports and cesses. There was hardly any cash payment from the State treasuries. It sould, however, be noted that gross revenues were not sent to the Imperial treasuries; each department transmitted only net revenues after deducting its expenses.

The expenses of Provincial Governments were met by transit duties, octroy on food stuff, duties on the manufacture of

6. I. O. L. Ms. 3301, No. 109.
7. *Later Mughals*, I. 338-9.

salt, saltpetre, and opium, royalties on sale of houses, cattle and fishery rights, fines, and by various other imports. Most of the taxes were oppressive and hindered trade. Aurangzeb abolished about eighty imposts early in his reign.

"The revenues of India then, as now, followed the type of her own great ant-hills, and were built up of innumerable minute accessions and aggregations. Going back to earlier periods, we find that the whole theory of the Hindu law of taxation proceeded upon the primitive village system that the elected authority, or Raja, should take his portion of all gains, of whatever description local knowledge could reduce into a tangible form. In such a state of society the produce of the land was obvious to the sight......Hence we find the ruler claiming all manner of odd items, extending to his share of commercial profits, one day in the month of the arms and sinews of men, and descending even to a quota of the grass of the fields and the leaves of trees for the state granary." [8]

Taxation in Hindu period.

The list of cesses abolished by Aurangzeb are given in the *Mughal administration* (90—105) (see also K. K. II 88—89). The human ingenuity in finding out new sources of income is remarkably demonstrated by the list of *abwabs* abolished by the Emperor. For the sake of comparison we give below the laws of Manu specifying the King's taxes :

As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee take their natural food, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, a fiftieth part may be taken by the King.

He may take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruits; of gathered

8. Thomas, *Revenue Resources*, 14-15 and note.

leaves, potherbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.

In addition to these demands, the king was entitled to, graduated taxes on merchandise. The State demanded a day's work in each month from every labourer. There was a royalty of half upon old hoards and treasure trove.

It will be found on comparison that the taxation during the Mughal rule was much lighter than what prevailed during the Hindu period.

Rahdari.

There was an important tax known as *rahdari* (fee for road-guarding). Originally *rahdari* was a payment for travelling guards but after a time it became a tax for guarding the roads whether guards were supplied or not; later on it was regarded as a duty on internal transit. *Zakat* was another name for the duties paid on merchandise. [9] According to strict Muslim law customs duty was prohibited, but the jurists brought it under the category of *zakat.* [10] As the poor-tax was payable only once during a year, *mutatis mutandis* the legal fiction was extended to duties on merchandise also. We find from a comtemporary record that customs duty was chargeable only once in twelve months. [11] The imposition of *rahdari* or *zakat* or transit duties on the same goods at different places was therefore, decidedly illegal. It was abolished by Aurangzeb, but it appears from the reports of European travellers that the tax was levied by local authorities, causing great inconvenience and hardship to travellers and traders. [12]

Aurangzeb's view of *rahdari* is indicated by the following letter sent to Prince Muhammad Azam: "The news reporter of the *parganah.* Noni writes to his brother that Rs. 15,000 or

9. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p. 63.
10. Ante, p. 164.
11. *Ganj-i-Rashidi*, folio, 552.
12. *Storia*, *IV*, 116, 432-33.

Rs. 16,000 are realised as *rahdari*, but the *amin* and the *fiaujdar* do not remit more than one or two thousand rupees in the treasury. This in fact, is not *rahdari* (road-guarding) but *rahzani* (road brigandage). This impost on the public is *haram* (unlawful)." [13]

The rate of road-tax is given by Hamilton. After every ten or twelve miles in Orissa he found "a fellow to demand *junkaun* or poll-money for me and my servants which generally came to a penny or three half pence a piece." [14] Tavernier's experience was different from that of Hamilton. Writing about Burhanpur he says, "At Badelpura it is where the loaded waggons pay the duties of Brampur; but the waggons that carry nothing but passengers pay nothing." Travelling from Agra to Dacca, he paid toll at only three places—Allahabad, Benares and Sahasram—while crossing the rivers.

Inspite of strict orders of the Emperor illegal exactions continued in distant parts of the empire. This was due both to the cupidity of the officials and the passivity of the people.

Currency

The chief characteristics of the Mughal currency were as follows:

(1) It was bi-metallic. (2) All coins were unlimited legal tender. (3) There was very little alloy in them. The coins were full-value coins of pure metal. (4) There was a great uniformity of coinage. (5) The State did not reserve to itself the mintage of coins. Every one was free to bring bullion to the mints and get coins instead; mints were free and open mints.

Ratio of gold to silver.

The Mughals were not acquainted with the principle of maintaining a stable ratio between gold and silver. At present the stability between the two metals is maintained either by suspending the

13. *Dastur-ul-Amal-Aguhi*, f. 26. (Stewart's Catalogue of Tippu Sultan's Library)

4. Hamilton, *A Naw Account of the East Indies*, I. 215.

issue of this or that coin or by inflating the coinage. The artificial methods for restricting the circulation of a particular coin, as occasion demands it, was then unknown. The fluctuations in the ratio between the values of gold and silver were not frequent. During the time of Akbar the ratio of the value of gold to that of silver was 9-4 : 1; in the reign of Jahangir it was 12 : 1; under Shahjahan it stood at 14 : 1 3/4; and in the reign of Aurangzeb it rose to 16 : 1. The ratio indicates the value of gold *muhrs* in different reigns.[15] According to an authority the depreciation of silver in the second half of the sixteenth century was due to a very large out-put of the metal through the agency of the foreign merchants. This resulted in the virtual adoption of a silver currency for the empire.

No glut in silver.

The above view runs counter to the thesis of Mr Moreland. In his opinion the supply of silver was maintained by the imports on the coast that is to say in Bengal, Sindh and Gujrat. The account of the maritime trade in Bengal does not indicate any great influx of silver. Sindh was even less important from this point of view. As regards Gujrat, it is urged, that if the quantity of silver in circulation tended to rise, the resulting fall in its value would have been most apparent But as "no noticeable fall in value occurred in Gujrat, we may infer that the stability of silver as a standard extended throughout the country, or in other words that the stream of silver poured in by the Dutch and other merchants was not in excess of the absorbtive capacity of Northern and Western India taken as a whole." (*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 176).

Contrary view.

Another authority gives facts and figures evidencing a great influx of silver. In 1601, the amount of silver imported into India was valued at

15. S. H. Hodiwala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Chapter XX.

about £22,000; in 1616, it was £52,000; and in Aurangzeb's reign, between 1697 and 1702, it rose to about £800,000. In one year alone 1681, the bullion consigned to Bengal was worth £3,20,000.[16]

It is surprising, however, that inspite of the large import of silver, the price of the metal in 1684 was one rupee per *tola*. (*Mirat*, 308); while in the reign of Akbar it sold at one *tola* and two *rattis* per rupee. (*Ain*).

Purity of coinage.

Foreign merchants were struck at the purity of the Mughal coinage. Edmund Terry says, "The coin there is more pure than in any other part of the world." Thevenot remarks that "the silver money of the great Mughal is finer than any other"; and Ovington tells us that "the gold of Surat is so very fine that twelve and fourteen per cent may be gained by bringing it to Europe." The fineness of the Mughal coins is evidenced by the fact that out of forty-four coins that were assayed and quantitatively analysed by modern methods, fourteen were found to be absolutely pure and without a single grain of alloy (Hodivala, 238-41).

The long list of gold, silver, and copper coins given in the *Ain* (pp. 27-38) has only a theoretical importance at present. Of the coins issued by Akbar, the gold *muhr*, the silver rupee and the copper *dam* were the chief current coins in the period under review. The rupee was first introduced by Sher Shah; it was revived and made more pure by Akbar. It then weighed 178 grains. The *dam* was a massive copper coin weighing normally 323·5 grains; two *paisas* were equal to one *dam*. The normal relative value of copper to silver was 72·4 to 1; 40 copper *dams* equalled one silver rupee of 178 grains. Akbar's gold *muhr* was worth nine rupees, while that of Aurangzeb Rs. 16. In the reign of Aurangzeb

16. Dr. S. A. Khan, ***East India Trade in the seventeenth century.***

there was a slight decrease in the metallic content of the rupee ; its exchange value was equal to 2s. 3d. Apart from the rupee, two other coins were in use, the *pagoda* and the *mahmudi*. The former was current in South India and was a gold coin worth from about 3 to 3½ rupees ; the latter was the chief silver coin of Gujrat ; 5 *mahmudis* were equal to two rupees. The above two coins were not minted at the imperial mints.

"The modern sub-division of the rupee (anna and pie) do not appear in the accounts which have survived for Northern and Western India, which show only rupees (or *mahmudis*) and pice ; the anna was, however, familiar as a unit of account though not of currency in Bengal and Bihar."[17] We, however, find from the *Dastur-ul-amals* of the third year of Aurangzeb that sixteen annas made one rupee. [18] There is a reference to two-anna and four-anna pieces in the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 185).

The rupee was sub-divided into eight annas, four annas and two annas (Hodivala, 101). There was also the half *paisa*, two *paisa*, and four *paisa*. The rate of the *paisa* somewhat fluctuated. According to Tavernier, "the reason is, the nearer you go to the copper mines, the more *pechaes* (*paisa*) you have for a rupee."

Akbar's *dam* was also known as *paisa* and *falus*. In Gujrat, the *paisa* was not the *dam*, but the half *dam* of our period. According to Mr. Moreland, from 1627 onward, the rupee was worth 30 *dam* or 60 pice, as against 40 *dam* under Akbar. The *dam* under Akbar weighed one *tola* eight *masha* and seven *rattis* (*Ain*). In the ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign the circulation of *falus* was withdrawn ; it weighed 21 *mashas*. The new copper coin was only 14

17. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Appendix D.

18. Addit Mss. British Museum. No. 6598 and 6599.

mashas in weight. As the labourers in Gujrat refused to take the new coin, they were ordered to be paid at the rate of one and a half *tanka* per day; and the rate of exchange was fixed at three *falus* per *tanka*. (*Mirat*, 267). According to Mr. Hodivala one *tanka* was equal to two *dams* and weighed 64 grains (pp. 107, 122). According to Gemelli Careri, a rupee was worth 54 *paises* in 1695. (*Voyage round the world* in *Churchill's Collection, IV, 255*).

The newly-minted rupees were known as *chalani*, while the coins of previous reigns were called *khazanah*, and a discount was taken for depreciation when presented in a treasury. There were no counterfeit coins, as the punishment for counterfeiting was very severe. "I never saw any clipt-money," writes Ovington, "and it is rare if either the gold or silver coin is falsified" (p. 132).

Though there were several mints in different parts of the empire, the Mughal Emperors maintained a high degree of uniformity in their coinage.

A word may be said about the weights used by the Mughals. The *tola* was the unit, but it was heavier than the one in use now. The *tola* is the unit of the British system of weights and weighs 180 grains troy; the Mughal *tola* ranged between 185 and 186 grains troy. The Mughal *tola* was based on *rattis* which was dependent on rice grains. All the weights, *tola* and *masha*, bore the 'Kings mark'. [19]

Akbar's gold *muhr* weighed 11 *mashas* and was worth nine rupees. Aurangzeb's *muhr* was worth sixteen rupees in the first decade of his reign, but later on came down to fourteen rupees (Tavernier; Ovington, 132). Akbar's rupee weighed 11½ *mashas* or 178 grains. In the reign of Aurangzeb it was fixed at 11 *mashas*. (*Mirat*, 337). We, however,

19. Tavernier (Bangbasi edition), p. 10.

find from a contemporary record that Aurangzeb had "raised his coin to 5/8 per cent finer than formerly."[20]

All the foreign coins brought to India were melted into current coins; and silver or gold was not allowed to be exported.[21]

When Aurangzeb ascended the throne he forbade the practice of inscribing *Kalimah* (confession of faith) on the coins, as was the practice during the reign of Shahjahan. Aurangzeb's coins bore on the obverse the following Persian couplet, meaning.—

Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir struck the coin
On earth as lustrous as the shining full moon.

The reverse bore the name of the mint-city, the regnal year, and the Emperor's full title in the *tughra* script: *Abul Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshah Ghazi.*

The present Indian currency system is also founded on the rupee which contains 165 grains of pure silver. As silver can be purchased for about one and six pence half-penny per ounce, the value of the metal contained in the rupee is only 6d. As there was no alloy in the Mughal rupee its value was equivalent to the current value of silver. The monetary policy of the Mughals was in the best interest of the country. The people being mainly agriculturists and knowing little of banking habits, it was necessary to issue a currency that should command the confidence of the peasant. The Mughals discharged their obligations with efficient simplicity. They had no necessity for devising elaborate schemes for holding large stocks of metal backing to the currency, as is the case at present. Though they may have been ignorant of the various methods for retaining a stable ratio between gold and

20. *The English Factories in India*, (1655-1660), p. 211.

21. Bernier, 204.

silver, their system was admirable; it maintained a stable internal price level, a factor that chiefly determines the economic condition of a country.

Treasuries.

Besides the general treasury known as *khazinah-i-amra*, scattered throughout the empire, there were several special treasuries. A Persian history enumerates the following twelve treasuries: (1) *Andrun-i-mahal, i.e.*, treasury inside the *harem*. (2) *Baqaya, i. e.*, treasury of arrears collected. (3) *Jeb-i-khas*, or the treasury for supplying the Emperor's pocket-money. (4) *Khazinah-i-rikab* or the treasury that accompanied the Emperor during his marches. (5) *Jeb-i-faiz* or treasury for pious donations. (6) and (7) *Khazinah-i-nazar wa peshkash* or treasuries for tributes, presents, gifts etc. (8) *Khazinah-i-sarf-i-khas* or the Emperor's privy purse for his personal or household expenses. (9) *Bait-ul-mal.* Here the properties of persons dying without heir were kept. (10) Treasury of precious stones. (11) Treasury of gold ware, and (12) Treasury of inlaid jwellery. The *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri* names 24 treasuries.

The provinces had only four treasuries, *viz.*, 1. *Khazinah-i-amra*, also called *bait-i-kharaj* or house of land revenue from the crownlands, tributes and duties on the goods of Hindus, etc., 2. *Khazinah-i-baqaya* or dues for *taqavi*, tribute, etc., 3. *Khazinah-i-sadqa* containing the tithe of 2½ per cent, from Muslims and 4. *Khazinah-i-jizyah* or poll-tax on the Hindus.[22]

There were elaborate rules for receipts and disbursements which were regularly checked. According to Vincent Smith, the treasury arrangements were "much the same as those in

22. The two paragraphs are entirely based on the *Mughal Administration*, 182-185.

force some years ago in the United Provinces, and no doubt still maintained for the most part."[23]

Weights.

The Indian unit of weight was the *man* or maund. It contained 40 *ser*, but the weight of the *ser* differed in different reigns. Akbar's *ser* contained 30 *dam*; its approximate weight in lbs avoirdupois was 55. Jahangir's *ser* was of 36 *dam*, weighing 66 lbs; Shahjahan fixed the *ser* at 40 *dam*, and weighed 74 lbs. In Aurangzeb's reign, according to Manucci (II. 449) a *ser* weighed 98 ounces; a maund, therefore, was 70 lbs. in weight. This refers to South India. According to Mr. Moreland, "Southwards from Surat, and up the East Coast, as far as Masulipatam, the maund was equal to about 26 lbs." Gujarat had a system of its own, and all important transactions were conducted by means of a maund weighing 23 lbs. According to Tavernier, the maund in Aurangzeb's reign weighed 70 lb. This agrees with the weight given by Manucci.

Food grains and other commodities.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century the normal rate of wheat in Gujarat was 80 or 85 lbs. per rupee. From the available data it appears that the price of wheat remained the same in the third quarter of the century. In Northern India the rate was higher; sometimes, it reached 185 lbs. per rupee. Best rice could be got at Surat at 65 lb. per rupee (Moreland). Beef was available at three farthings a pound; mutton at three half pence; and good large fowls at seven pence half penny each.[24] According to Bernier, markets were amply supplied with fowls, 'tolerably good and cheap,' and with pigeons, partridges, ducks and hares. (p. 252). In 1691 in Bengal forty fowls, or fifteen ducks

23. *Akbar*, 376.

24. *A New Account of the East Indies, I.* 95.

could be bought for a rupee (Ovington, 169). The fruit-market at Delhi was well stocked with dry and fresh fruits from Persia, Balkh, Bokhara, and Samarqand. Fresh grapes, black and white, were imported, wrapped in cotton. Pears and apples of three or four sorts and 'those admirable melons (*sarda*) which last the whole winter were available. These fruits were, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half." [25]

Salt was very cheap during the Mughal period. The price of salt in Akbar's time was about one-eighteenth the current price of salt. "Merchants purchased rock-salt from the mines at $2\frac{2}{5}$ to $9\frac{3}{5}$ pies a maund (three pies equal to one pice and sixty-four pice equal to one rupee), the landlord charged a royalty of four annas on each porter of salt (*i.e.*, on one and half maunds), and the State levied a duty of $11\frac{1}{2}$ pies (approximately equal to one anna) on every maund. Thus, a little less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas per maund was the cost price of rock-salt in Akbar's time." [26]

Fish was very cheap. As much fish could be bought for 'half a rupee, as would serve fourscore men.' Bricks were procurable at the rate of one thousand per rupee (*Mirat*, 262).

Tavernier gives the rates of the following commodities at Surat where one maund was equal to 33 or 34 lbs. and 5 *Mahmudis* were equal to 2 rupees: pepper—14 *mahmudis* per maund, cloves—$103\frac{1}{2}$ *mahmudis*, cinnamon—50 *mahmudis*, Sugarcandy—18 *mahmudis* per *maund* which comes to about Rs. 7 per *maund*.

There was a *nirkh-navis* in every big town who reported and regulated the price of commodities (*Mirat*, 309).

25. Bernier, 249.
26. *India of Aurangzeb*.

Wages.

Ordinary labourers were paid 2 or 3 *dam* per diem, *i.e.*, one-twentieth of a rupee; skilled workmen received Rs. 3 or Rs. 3⅓ per month; household servants Rs. 2 monthly. One and a half *dam* (3 pice) was enough for the daily subsistence of a man. In the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign orders were issued against forced labour (*begari*). At a later date when the Hindus complained against the *amils* and *faujdars*, the Governor of Ahmedabad redressed their grievance and forbade the use of forced labour. (*Mirat* 260, 338). The writer saw an order of Shahjahan inscribed at the gate of the cathedral mosque at Srinagar in Kashmir forbidding employment of forced labour.

Trade and Industry.

As gold and silver were not allowed to be exported out of India, any foreigner trading with India had either to bring in foreign coins or bullion or such goods and commodities for which there was a demand in the Indian markets.

Imports.

The import trade was, therefore, very limited. Except for some foreign commodities, India was self-sufficient, and the needs of Indian masses were few; they could not afford to buy imported goods. Horses, spices, raw-silk, ivory, coral, lead, copper, tin, zink, quicksilver, some luxury goods and foreign rarities were imported into India. In our period the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English and the French were all competing for the capture of the Indian market.

Exports.

As regards exports, cotton goods were the foundation of the trade. Large quantities of pepper were exported from Malabar; indigo and other merchandise from the western ports; rice and sugar from Bengal. Varieties of cotton goods, *e.g.*, calicoes, muslims, "chintzes, hand-kerchifs, short dyed pieces

of calico, goods woven with patterns, and cloths with an intermixture of silk" were sent out of India.

The amount and extent of the import and export trade cannot be determined; nor can it be ascertained whether the advent of European traders effected any general increase in trade. Mr. Moreland suggests that those markets which were previously served by Arab traders were captured by European merchants; there was only a change in the carrying agency; and increased exports do not represent any new business. Some new lines of business were, however, opened by the Dutch who exported Bengal silk and Coromandel skins to Japan [27].

According to the authority quoted above, the annual exports in English vessels from India to Europe in 1658-60 amounted to five lacs of rupees from the West coast and three lacs of rupees from Bengal and the East coast. In 1620 it amounted to 2½ lacs of rupees. The volume of the Dutch trade cannot be estimated but it was larger than the English.

Market dominated by Indians.

Before the arrival of the Europeans and during the period under review the market was dominated by individual Indians—Muslims and Hindus. Pirji Borah, the merchant prince of Surat was reputed to be the richest merchant in the world. His dealings were on a very large scale, and 'syndicates dominated by him were ready to buy entire cargoes valued at from five to ten lakhs of rupees.' Apart from foreign goods, he controlled the pepper market in Surat, and the coasting trade to Malabar ports. There was another merchant, named Abdul Ghafur, who 'drove a trade equal to the English East-India Company, which represented transactions worth 30 or 40 lacs of rupees. [28]

27. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 73-75.

28. Hamilton, I. 89, 117.

Products and manufactures.

Manucci (II. 421 *et seq*) enumerates the products and manufactures of different provinces which are summarised below: 1. Delhi—grain. 2. Agra—white cloth, silk stuffs, cloth of gold and of silver of great fineness, lace, indigo. 3. Lahore—fine white cloth, silk of all colours, work in embroidery, carpets-plain and flowered, tents, saddles, swords, coarse, woollen stuffs, boots and shoes, and rock-salt 4. Ajmere—fine white cloth, grain, butter, salt and saltpetre. 5. Gujarat—gold and silver cloth, flowered silks, gold and silver work, jewellery set with stones, and cereals. 6. Malwa—white and coloured cloth, poppy and cereals. 7. Patna—fine white cloth saltpetre, earthen pottery as fine as paper. 8. Multan—printed cloth, bows and arrows. 9. Kabul—horses, camels, fruits, skins, musk and rubies. 10. Tattah—fine white cloth, course and printed cloth, leather, grain and butter. 11. Bhakkar—white and coloured cloth and grain. 12. Orissa—fine white cloth and rice. 13. Kashmir—fine woollen cloth, wood-work and fruit. 14. Allahabad—dishes of different colours. 15. Benares—stuffs of silk, cloth of gold and silver, and goods suited to women's use. 16. Aurangabad—white cloth and silk stuffs, sugar-cane, mango, coconut, betel leaf, and rice. 17. Berar—cereals, corn, vegetables, poppy and sugar-cane. 18. Burhanpur—fine white and coloured cloth and grain. 19. Baglana—coarse white cloth and grain. 20. Deccan—white cloth and silken stuffs. 21. Ujjain—grain and salt. 22. Rajmahal—fine cloth and rice. 23. Gulkanda—diamond mines, best printed cloth and iron.

The author of the *khulasat-ul-tawarikh* gives the following description of crafts and industries of different provinces:

Agra.—" Sugar of extreme whiteness was manufactured at Biana and a famous kind of sugar-candy at Kalpi. Excellent carpets were woven at Fatehpur and Alwar, the latter place producing articles of glass also. Agra was famous for its gold and silver embroidery on turbans."

Allahabad—" Cloths were beautifully woven at Benares, Jalalaba and Mau Woollen carpets were manufactured at Jaunpur and Zafarwal.

Oudh.—" In the environs of Ajodhya gold was obtained by sifting dust.

Bihar.—" Stone ornaments were carved at Rajgir near Gaya. Good paper was made in this district. Gilt glass and various kinds of cloth were manufactured in this province."

Bengal.—" Silk and sack-cloth (jute) were manufactured in Ghoraghat, *ganga-jal* cloth in Barbakabad, and fine Muslin in Sonargaon. Bengal was famous for its mattresses."

Malwa.—" Cloth of the best texture was woven here."

Gujarat.—" A large number of artisans carried on painting, seal engraving, and inlaying mother-of-pearl on boxes and inkstands. Stuffs of gold embroidery, velvets and brocades were skilfully woven. Good cloth was manufactured at Patan and *alchak* at Broach. Swords, daggers, bows and arrows were well made at Somnath. Rare perfumes at Nosari. Salt was extracted from the Rann."

Multan.—" Flowered carpets, *satranjis*, and *chhints* with figures, were woven in Multan."

Punjab.—" Bajwara (1½ m from Hoshiarpur) was famous for its cloth manufacture. At Sultanpur in the Jalandhar Doab, *chhint*, *dolai*, and embroidered cloths were finely made. Sialkot was celebrated for the manufacture of paper, embroidered cloth, table-cloth, tray-covers and small tents. At Gujarat were manufactured swords, and embroidered cloth. Near the salt mines of Shamsabad, trays, dishes, lamps and other fancy-articles of rock-salt were made."

Khandesh.—" Good cloth stuffs were woven in the province."—(*India of Aurangzeb.*)

No Monopoly.

Some passages in Streynsham Masters' *Diary* for 1676 have been interpreted to indicate monopoly of salt and beeswax by Aurangzeb. But the Emperor's orders against monopoly are so clear and definite that no reliance should be placed on far-fetched deductions. From the list of illegal exactions abolished by Aurangzeb in 1665 we find that officers in Gujarat used to buy and sell by force, buying at a less than market price and selling goods at a much higher price. " Collectors, merchants, and village headmen do not allow the public to buy the new harvest, but take the whole of it themselves, and force rotten grain on the traders, while exacting the price of good grain from them (*i. e.*, the traders)......Officials and rich men cultivate every kind of fruit and vegetable in their own gardens and in those of the State, and force them on the vegetable sellers at double the price.........In Ahmadabad and the *parganahs* of the province some men have monopolised the sale and purchase of rice, and no one can deal in that grain except with their consent; hence rice has become dear in

Gujarat." (*Mirat*, 260-62) Some years later another order was issued against monopolies (*ibid*, 292). In the last decade of his reign Aurangzeb wrote a stinging letter of censure to his grandson Azim-ush-shan, the Governor of Bengal, for conducting private trade. [29]

From the commercial correspondence of foreign merchants it has been established that Shahjahan carried on private trade, and that he had set up monopolies in different commodities. The information at our disposal is too scanty to determine with accuracy the reasons that led to the establishment of monopolies. There may have been cases in which the engrossment was actuated by reasons of private gain; but we find that in most cases the restriction on free trade in some articles was justified by necessities of the State. For instance, the restriction on the sale of saltpetre was due to the fact that the latter was used for making gunpowder. The monopoly of lead was justified as it was used for making shots and bullets. The export of copper was prohibited at a time when the supply for currency was deficient. There were instances of private trading by high officials, but Aurangzeb's orders against official trading were definite and clear.

Aptitude of Indian merchants.

The general condition of trade and markets is summed up in the following quotation: "Buyers and sellers resembled in all essentials to the buyers and sellers of the present day, and the commercial aptitudes of Indian merchants were certainly not inferior to those of the foreigners who dealt with them......Throughout the country we find recognised market prices, constantly fluctuating with variations in supply and demand; the conception of a normal price governed by cost of production was perfectly familiar...We meet, too, the keenest competition among buyers and sellers, eager search for exclusive

29. *Mughal Administration*, 92.

information, the organisation of rings and commercial monopolies, the specialised activities of a large class of brokers, a remarkable development of financial machinery for credit, exchange, and insurance; a crisis was as familiar an event in Surat in the seventeenth century as in modern Bombay; and though a bankruptcy law did not exist, the institution itself was generally recognised." [30]

The above remarks are subject to two important observations, *viz.*, the risk of official interference and cost of transport.

In a system based on autocracy there must have been many instances of extreme arbitrariness; but even under an autocracy no local authority could violently disregard the public opinion. We have not come across a single instance in which complaints properly lodged before constituted authority was not redressed. A few officials here and there might derive a temporary benefit by manipulating the market, but on the whole the even tenor of trade and commerce was not disturbed.

Foreign craftsmen brought to India.

In the matter of crafts and industries the policy of the Mughals was directed in having all articles of necessity and luxury manufactured in the country. With this end they encouraged foreign craftsmen and skilful workmen to settle in India. These men not only taught the people the technique of their trade, but also introduced improved methods of manufacture. Cotton, silk, shawl, and carpet-weaving industries received great stimulus from the royal patronage. As a consequence, factories for silk-weaving, and for the manufacture of shawls and carpets were established at Lahore and Agra in the reign of Akbar (*Ain*, Gladwin, 566). Formerly shawls were rarely brought from Kashmir.

30. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 145-146.

"*Now they are worn...... ...by people of all degrees...........* *In Lahore there are upwards of a thousand manufactories of this commodity.*" (*ibid*, 79).

The marked progress made in the manufacture of cloth is evidenced by the following passage in the *Ain*, (*ibid*, 75).

"Through the attention of His Majesty, a variety of new manufactures are established in this country; *and the cloths fabricated in Persia, Europe, and China have become cheap and plenty.* The skill of the manufactures has increased with their number."

With the advent of European merchants, there was improvement in the variety of Indian goods. We find that in 1672 or 1673 several artificers were sent from England to teach the Indians how to manufacture goods for the European markets. From the following extract from a pamphlet entitled *England's Danger by Indian Manufacture*, circa 1698 (Bodleian Libarary, folio Q. 658 No. 28), it will be clear how Indian goods were adversely affecting the indigenous industries of England:

> "They (East India Company) have already brought over great quantities of double calicoes, used in room of English flannels for shirts and other uses, and many have told me that it is so much better than flannel made of wool that they will never wear flannel while they can have this. They have brought over great quantities of cotton stockings, and many cotton stocks are now worn and exported to the West Indies; as for stuffs, they have brought over great quantities of cotton stuffs, dyed, striped, plain, mixed colours in directest opposition to woollen stuffs; as for silk and mixt cotton, it were useless to give an account of the many sorts of Norwich and London stuffs that are made of silk and English wool, which they have imitated." 31

The yearly output of cloth manufactured in India is not ascertainable, but, apart from the statement in the *Ain*, the existence of a cloth-weaving industry in almost every town

31. *Documents in the British Archives*, p. 46, 49, in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. I, Part I.

and village postulates plentiful production and proportionate demand.

Defects of the economic system.

According to a critic, the main defects of the economic system during the Mughal rule were inadequate production and f a u l t y d i s t r i b u t i o n. The inadequacy of production can be judged only when there are sufficient data before us; the scanty material in our possession gives no indication either of the extent of demand or of production. Cloth-weaving was in our period a cottage industry; it was organised in numerous small units. The weaver was either both capitalist and labourer or worked for outsiders who advanced funds for the supply of material. Generally only those who were required to manufacture finer cloth or goods of a particular quality or those who handled costly stuff were in need of advances; these may have been in the power of the capitalist as they are even to-day. But the number of such men was considerably smaller as compared with those who manufactured cloth for rough and common use and who required no advances. Weavers of the latter class were not land-less hired labourers. They were in occupation of small agricultural holdings and they implemented their income by manufacturing cloth.

Urban workers were, perhaps, amenable to pressure both of the employers and that of the Emperors' agents. But even here we have not sufficient data to ascertain the effect of the pressure on production. A few grasping capitalists might have forced a number of men to sweated labour for a time, but the relation between labour and capital was on the whole normal. We have previously described the rate of daily wages which in the case of master-workmen was about Rs. 3 per month. Leaving exceptional cases out of account, there is no indication on record that skilled workers were usually paid less than the normal wages.

Official interference.

Much has been said against official interference, and stress is laid on the fact that craftsmen were not free agents. In this connection Manucci's remarks may be cited as indicating the trend of public opinion. "It is quite true," he says, "that if the common people here have four rupees, they are quite high and mighty and decline service. It is only when they have nothing to eat that they take service. They have no skill unless it is forced on them by harsh treatment." (II. 451). Regarding the lethargy and indolence of the Indian workmen Bernier says, "Nothing but sheer necessity or blows of a cudgel keeps him employed; he never can become rich, and he feels it no trifling matter if he has the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger and covering his body with the coarsest garment." When such was the characteristic of a craftsman or a labourer the charge of his not being a free agent is robbed of its point. There seems to be some justification for forced labour, if there was any. From the available data, however, it appears that the services of only those men who had attained a high degree of skill in the manufacture of particular commodities were requisitioned. Such craftsmen were transported from different parts of the Empire to the capital where they, worked in the State factories (*Karkhanas*) under expert guidence. Governors and eminent nobles vied with each other in securing the services of best craftsmen by offering liberal rewards. Speaking of Sultan Khurram, afterwards Shahjahan, Pelsaert says: "He was a patron of all craftsmen, to whom *he paid such high wages that he attracted all the splendour of his father's Court.*" (p. 37).

Plentiful production of cloth.

The same authority tells us that, "the roads carry indescribable quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods." (p. 6). Describing Burhanpur, Tavernier says, "There is a great trade in this city, as over all the province,

there is made a prodigious quantity of calicuts very clear and white, which are transported into Persia, Turkey and Muscuvia, Poland, Arabia, to Grand Cairo and other places." (*Travels*, 40)......About Sironj he says, "Seronj is a great city.........There is also a great trade for all sorts of painted calicuts" (*ibid*, 44). "Baroche (Broach) is a great city... ......In this place are made a great quantity of baftas" (*Ibid*, 52). "Amadabad, (Ahmadabad) is one of the greatest cities in India; and where there is a mighty trade for silk-stuffs, hangings of gold and silver, and others mixed with silk". (p. 56). "Multan is a city where there is made a vast quantity of linen calicuts" (p. 72).

Before the introduction of railways difficulties of transport and cost of carriage were as great in India as elsewhere. But inspite of them there was a considerable amount of inter-provincial trade. Goods from Dacca, Lahore and Gulkanda were freely available at Surat and other towns. Ahmadabad imported 'Bengal *Cassas* (muslins), and clothing for Hindu women from Bengal and the Estern Provinces, *Pamris* (shawls) from Kashmir and Lahore, and Bengal *Kaund* or white sugar."

Mr. Moreland's criticism.

Mr. Moreland in the concluding portion of his book in 'attempting a rough balance-sheet' says, "Weavers, naked themselves, toiled to clothe others. Peasants, themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities.........Men and women, living from season to season on the verge of hunger, could be contented so long as the supply of food held out; when it failed, as it so often did, their hope of salvation was the slave-trader, and the alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation. Their only way of excape from that system lay through an increase in production, coupled with a rising standard of life, but this road was barred effectively by the administrative methods in vogue, which penalised

production, and regarded every indication of increased consumption as a signal for fresh extortion."

The sombrous picture depicted in the above paragraph is highly over-drawn; neither the weavers toiled for a strip of clothing nor were the peasants in a perennial state of famishment. Before the advent of modern industrialism the old economic order accorded well with the prevaling conditions. Though machinery has now considerably ousted hand-looms, many economists are of the opinion that in a country like India where labour is cheap the cottage weaving industry should be revived to enable the peasants to have a subsidiary source of income. That the abundance of hand-looms in the Mughal period was conducive to the economic prosperity of India, is a proposition that needs no proof.

Condition of weavers in England and Germany.

The condition of Indian weavers in the seventeenth century may have been deplorable, but we find that till the middle of the nineteenth century weavers in England and Germany were in no better position. The distress among the hand-loom weavers in England was so acute that a Royal Commission was appointed in 1837 to enquire into the possibility of remedial measures. "The Commissioners then found that insufficient wages and excessive toil" was the general lot of the hand-weaver, and that he had fallen from the position of a small master to that of a wage-earner......The earnings of a family were miserably low.........The statement gives 7 *s.* 11 *d.* a week as the net wages of a weaver, his wife, and two children.......The cottage or hovel in which the weaver lived was small and insanitary, the windows were few and narrow, there was little furniture in the house, and no ornaments. The principal, and often the only room, was used both as a kitchen and a workroom; in it was placed the loom of the weaver."[32]

32. Sir Theodore Morison, *The Economic Transition of India*, p. 132 133, 134,

About a hundred years ago Prussia was still in the Indian stage of economic evolution. "The following description," writes Sir Theodore Morison, "by an Englishman in 1826 not only shows that her industrial organisation was in all important respects the same as that which I have described as characteristic of India, but also that she was then a far poorer country than India is now; no body, I think, would paint the industrial condition of India in such gloomy colours as Mr. Jacob used in describing the Maritime Provinces of Prussia:—

> "The working class," he says, "of the inhabitants, amounting in the Maritime Provinces, to upwards of a million, including both those who work for daily wages and those who cultivate their own little portions of land, cannot be compared to any class of persons in England. This large description of inhabitants live in dwellings provided with few conveniences, on the lowest and coarsest of food, potatoes or rye or buckwheat, the chief and frequently their only food, linen from flax of their own growth and wool spun by their own hands, both coarse and both worn as long as they will hold together, furnish their dress, whilst an earthen pot that will bear fire forms one of the most valuable articles of their furniture. As fuel is abundant they are warmed more by the close stoves than by the shelter of their mud or wooden houses, covered by shingles which admit the piercing cold of the severe weather through abundant crevices. If they have bees or a plot of chicory, their produce serves as a substitute for sugar and coffee, but so often these must be sent to market to raise the scanty pittance which the tax-gatherer demands." [33]

33. *Ibid*, 162.

If such was the condition of England and Germany in the second quarter of nineteenth century as has been indicated in the preceding paragraphs, no surprise need be felt at the insufficiency of wages of the Indian weaver or his lack of ordinary comfort. But we think that a comparison of conditions prevailing in the East and the West in any given period before the introduction of machinery will reveal India as being in a much happier position than many other countries.

Defects of industrial organisation.

The defects of the old industrial organisation were not peculiar to India; they were found in almost every country. The isolation of the village, the imperfect division of labour, the paucity of capital, and the direction of industry in the hands of small craftsmen working independently on his own account—these were the distinguishing characteristics of the old economic order which had their origin in the want of transport and facilities of communication. As the village offered only a limited market for any one class of goods, production could not be specialised, and a minute division of labour was almost impossible. As the only available market was a small one, there was no advantage in producing on a large scale, and, consequently there was no necessity for employing any large amount of capital; and as the local demand was not more than sufficient to keep in employment one or two representatives of each industry, each craftsman worked independently on his own account. It will thus be seen that the defects of the old industrial system were the inherent defects of the old economic order based on lack of transport.

Mughal administrative system wrongly criticised.

Consequently, it will be wholly inappropriate to fasten the blame on the administrative system of the Mughals. Within the limits of the prevailing economic conditions, every encouragement was given to crafts and industries by the Mughal Emperors.

The last part of Mr. Moreland's criticism about the rise in the standard of life requires a short comment. There is no doubt that a rise in the standard of life will cause the economic uplift of the country, but it is impossible to change the agelong customs, habits and traditions of a people. The average Hindu, as a rule, is keen on amassing a fortune rather than on raising his standard of life. He is very economical in his expenses. His outlook differs from that of a Muslim who lives for the day rather than for the morrow. He is recklessly extravagant. He is more anxious to enjoy the good things of the world himself than to derive satisfaction from hoarded treasure. "Sumptuousness and State," writes Ovington, "suit not very well with the Life and Condition of a *Bannian*.......This keeps our Brokers at Surat, who are *Bannians*, from all costly disbursements, tho' they are reckon'd by some to be worth 15, by others 30 Lacks of Roupies, and causes a contraction of their Expenses, and a retrenchment of their Tables to three or four thousand Roupies a Year, without any show of a luxurious Garniture either on their Dishes, or in their Houses." [34]

Low standard of life.

The literature of the seventeenth century indicates that so far as urban population was concerned the contact with the Muslims brought about a general rise in the standard of life. But the rural areas have remained unaffected even to this day, and unless the system of land tenure is radically altered, there is little hope of elevating the condition of the peasant.

Rate of interest.

The Dutch and the English sometimes borrowed capital in India. Between 1625 and 1650 the rate at Surat ranged about 12 per cent; in the next decade it fell to 6 per cent, but in 1659 it rose to 9 per cent. "At Agra we read of rates between 9 and 24, in Sind 15, in Bengal 36, and on the Konkan coast 13½ per

34. *A Voyage to Surat*. 188.

cent.[35] From a letter sent by the president at Surat to the East India Company—London, dated 20th November, 1670, we find that the Director could have borrowed money at 1½ per cent.[36] There is an entry in Dutch Records about the rate of interest. "The affairs of the French here are in a bad way, the inland rulers and merchants having a great aversion for them. They have borrowed about 5,50,000 rupees here at ¾ per cent interest."[37] The reference is, I think about a monthly rate of interest.

Routes.

Agra and Delhi were the converging centres for all routes from the different parts of the Empire. The overland route to Persia and beyond passed through Lahore or Multan *via* Kabul or Qandhar. There was a direct route from Delhi to Lahore; and Lahore to Gujarat. From Gujarat one route led to Srinagar and the other to Attock and then to Kabul. The Punjab carried on trade with Kashgar *via* Kashmir, Ladakh and Yarqand. There were two routes from Surat to Agra; Surat Burhanpur, Sironj, Gwalior, Dholpur, Agra, Delhi; Surat, Baroach, Ahmadabad, Merta, Ajmere, Bayana, Agra. There was a route from Delhi to Ajmere and from Delhi to Koil (Aligarh). Agra and Delhi were connected to Bengal *via* Benares and Patna. There was a route from Agra to Allahabad *via* Etawah. Ajodhya was connected to Agra *via* Kanauj and Lucknow. There was a route from Ajodhya to Allahabad *via* Jaunpur. The route from Agra to Golkunda passed through Burhanpur and Daulatabad. Surat was reached from Golkunda *via* Bijapur and Goa. There was a route from Golkunda to Masulipatam. Tavernier mentions a route from Bengal to Surat. We have noticed the route from Delhi to Bengal *via* Allahabad, Benares and Patna. A traveller from Bengal to Surat covered the old

35. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 62.
36. O. C. 3515.
37. *Letter from India.. Dutch Records* B. First Series, Vol. xxx, p. 3, quoted in *Sources for the History of British India in the 17th century*, (p. 282) by Dr. S. A. Khan.

route as far as Allahabad. At some place between Agra and Allahabad another route branched off to Surat *via* Sironj.

The route from Bengal to Lahore and beyond was constructed by Sher Shah, and is known as the Grand Trunk Road. He planted trees on both sides of the road. Both Akbar and Jahangir issued orders for the maintenance of roads. Tom Coryat travelling from Lahore to Agra in Jahangir's reign found the roads 'shaded by trees on both sides'. Tavernier says. " All the way from Lahore to Delhi and from Delhi to Agra is a continual walk set on both sides with fair trees ; an object most pleasing to the sight."

The Mughals were not acquainted with metalled roads. In one istance, however, we find that at Rajmahal in Bengal the road was paved with bricks for a league or two. (Tavernier, 100).

Bridges.

In the accounts of travellers mention is made of bridges ; but it appears that these were built over small rivers. Tavernier mentions bridges at Paterki Serai (a place between Gwalior and Dholpur), at a place near Dholpur, at a place beyond Firozabad (in U. P.) at Sahasram, and at Dacca. (pp. 51, 91, 97,; 102.) The above-named bridges were built of stone.

Mr. Keene in his *Mughal Empire*, p. 23, thus sums up the good works of Aurangzeb : He 'abolished capital punishment, encouraged agriculture, founded numberless colleges and schools, and systematically construoted roads and bridges."

Caravanserais.

All along the routes throughout the Mughal Empire there were *serais* built at a distance of about eight or ten miles or more. Round these *serais* villages sprang up where articles of necessity were available. Sher Shah built 1,700 *serais* (Elliot and Dawson, vi. 188). Jahangir issued orders for digging wells and for the building of *serais* and mosques at State's expense along

the routes (*Mirat*, 185) Nurjahan built a large number of *serais*,[38] and so did Jahanara Begum, daughter of Shahjahan. Aurangzeb built numberless *serais* along the imperial highway (*Alamgirnama*, 1084). The *serais* were in the form of big walled enclosures with rooms. Tavernier mentions many caravanserais. About Benares, he says, "there are many inns in the town; among the rest, one very large and very handsomely built in the middle of the court are two galleries, where are to be sold calicuts, silks, and other sorts of merchandies."[39] Manucci says: "For the use of wayfarers there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many 'serais' (sarae). They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates, most of them are built of stone or brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun......The saraes are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls and verandas, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops; also separate abodes for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for travellers."[40]

Apart from serving as inns, the *serais* were marked as stages for carriers of the royal post (*dak chauki*). "The post in the Mogul's dominions," writes Hamilton, "goes very swift, for at every caravanseray which are built on the high roads, about ten miles distant from one another, men, very swift of foot, are kept ready,......so that in eight days, advices are brought from the farthest part of that large empire". (I89)

Transport.

Horses, oxen, coaches and palanquins were used for travelling. The coaches were called *hackeries* (from Hindi. *ekka* or *chhakra*)

38. *The Remonstrantie of Pelsaert, 50.*
39. *Travels*, 94-95.
40. Storia, I. 68-69.

by the Europeans. "The hackeries are made of a square figure as our coaches, but the seat is flat, not raised with cushions to lean upon. They can carry three or four persons, and are all open on the sides......some of better fashion are hung round, with an imperial over head to fence off the scorching rays of the sun."[41] The hackeries were drawn by oxen. According to Tavernier, "these oxen are very strong, and will travel upon the trot twelve or fifteen leagues a day for sixty days together."[42] He paid six hundred rupees for two oxen. The hire of a coach and a pair of oxen came to a rupee a day. From Surat to Agra was forty days journey, and forty to forty-five rupees were paid for the whole journey. The journey from Surat to Golkunda cost the same amount and took as much time; "and by the same proportion you may travel over all the Indies."

Wealthier people used the palanquin which "is more commodious than anything that has been invented for ease in France or Italy." The *kahars* or *palki* bearers were paid Rs. 4 per month. They travelled twenty to thirty miles per day (Ovington, 152).

Water routes.

There was a large traffic by river. Travelling by boats was sometimes quicker than by land. It took only fifteen days to cover the distance between Patna and Dacca (Tavernier 99-106). The waterways of Bengal carried a large volume of traffic. There was a brisk traffic of heavy merchandise along the water-routes of the Ganges, the Jumna and the Indus.

Merchandise was carried by oxen or camels or in waggons. The caravan of waggons consisted of one or two hundred waggons. Every waggon was drawn by ten or twelve oxen and attended by soldiers.

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41. Ovington, 152.
42. Travels, 35.

The Banjaras.

The Banjaras were the carriers of merchandise. It was "a wonderful thing to see ten or twelve thousand oxen at a time all laden with rice, corn and salt." They transported goods and merchandise from country to country, from Cape Camorin to Surat (*Ibid*, 32). We have not been able to determine the freight charged by the Banjaras.

Cost of transport.

A rough idea of the of cost of land transport can be formed by the following details. In 1619, the rate for conveyance from Agra to Surat was Rs. $14\frac{3}{4}$ for a camel load of 500 lb; in 1651, Rs. $15\frac{3}{16}$ was the charge per camel from Agra to Ahmadabad; while in 1639 goods could be carried from Agra to Lahore for Rs. 2 per maund of 74 lb. "Reducing these and other rates to a common standard, we find that the cost of carrying 100 lb. a distance of 100 miles in Northern and Western India ranged between half and three-quarters of a rupee, exclusive of anything required for payment of armed guards and inland customs duties."[43] According to the authority quoted above, cost of carriage could be borne by goods of high value per unit of weight, but in the case of agricultural produce it was prohibitive; inter-transport of food grains was possible only within a radius of 200 miles.

It seems that the carriage of agricultural produce in bullock-carts was not commercially feasible, but, from available data, it appears that the Banjaras covered very long distances. When they laid upon an ox's back 300 or 350 pound weight,[44] and every caravan consisted of ten thousand oxen, it was possible for food grains to be transported from a distance of more than 200 miles. Generally the Banjaras carried sugar, salt and grains. From Tavernier's accounts it appears that a

43. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb, 150.*

44. Tavernier, 30.

considerable number of waggons was used for commercial traffic between Agra and Surat.

A rising or a war occasionally disturbed trade; local officials sometimes tyrannised over people; sweated labour may have existed in some industry: yet inspite of all this we find that necessities of life were very cheap, internal price level was stable, manufactured goods were transported over long distances, indigenous industry was well patronised, and the wealth of the country remained in the hands of the people.

Famines.

The deficiency of rainfall for one or two years caused scarcity of grain and food-famines. There was scarcity of grain in Sindh and Surat in 1659. Prices were very high on the East Coast in 1660. There was a famine at Patna in 1670-71.[45] There was famine in Gujarat in the twenty-fourth regnal year, and again in twenty-eighth year (*Mirat*, 300, 309, 315). Manucci (iv. 97) mentions that there was no rain in the Deccan from 1702 to 1704. The famines in Aurangzeb's reign were, however, not as severe as in the previous reign. The Emperor abolished the transit duties, and forbade the collection of tax from grain markets. Shujaat Khan, the Governor of Ahmadabad, forbade the cornering of grain by the *banyas*, and, importing grain from outside, he fixed the rate of grains. (*Mirat*, 329). Some writers have blamed the Mughal Government for providing little relief in times of calamity and distress. It has been admitted that public kitchens were opened, taxes were remitted, and some money was distributed among the poor and the needy; but the effect of these measures was very scanty. No effort was made to tackle the problem in a manner that should have effectively alleviated the distress.

45. Harleian Ms. 4254 (British Museum) quoted in *Sources for the History of British India in the 17th Century* by Dr. S. A. Khan, p. 59.

It is not sufficiently realised that the difficulties of transport were such as excluded the possibility of providing food-grains in an area covering hundreds of miles. The difficulties became more intense when famine conditions prevailed in more than one province. Under such circumstances the facilities of inter-transport could not have afforded much relief. In cases of serious drought there was neither fodder nor water for animals. Hence the impossibility of transporting grain over long distances. Writing about the famine of 1631 in Gujarat, Mr Moreland says, " Sind was itself affected, the Malabar coast ordinarily imported a large proportion of its food ; the East Coast was starving ; and it appears to be at least doubtful whether the best and most human administration in the world could have organised imports by sea sufficient to meet the situation. There were surplus grain in the north, but the cost of carriage by land, as we have seen, exceedingly heavy, and it is hard to see how pack-animals could have moved through country without fodder or water in numbers adequate to the emergency. It would be unjust, therefore, to blame the Mogul administration for failure to avert a calamity which in the circumstances of the time, must be regarded as inevitable."[46]

Difficulties of relief measures.

It must be admitted that in some cases the measures adopted were not only inadequate but tardy. Rich merchants with the help of influential men tried to corner the grain and raise its price. We have an instance when the local official responsible for doubtful dealings was severely man-handled by the infuriated mob. (*Mirat*, 300-301). Local Governors had, however, sufficient authority to adopt emergency measures, and, as related previously, Governors did all that they could to ensure sufficient supply of grain.

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46. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 213-14.

Before quitting the subject it will be profitable to observe that famine was inseparable from the conditions which determined the old economic order. There was a famine in England in 1586. The Mayor of Plymouth wrote to the Council that " by reason of the intemperateness of the weather this last summer the price of corn and all grain for the space of three months has been very high and daily increases in these western parts, so that the poorer sort of people, being many thousands, are like to perish for want of relief." (*The Economic Transition in India*, 94). A hungry mob of 500 people looted a bark laden with malt. When some of them were arrested they pleaded that " they were driven thereto by the misery and necessity they were in for want of corn and other victuals for their relief, 'for they are not so sett on worke as heretofore they have been by the Clothe-men and that so great was their necessitye as that dyvers of them did justifye, they were dryven to feed their children with cattes dogges and roots of nettles with such other like things as they could come by." (*ibid.* 95-96).

Miserable conditions prevailed in France in 1662. The document which follows is a translation of a letter written by the Mother Superior of the Carmelite Convent in Blois to a lady in Paris; the original may be found in the life of Colbert (*Histoire de la Vic et da l' Administration de Colbert*, par Pierre Clement, Paris, 1846, chap. III, p. 118).

" We know truly that the present dearth has reduced so many people to poverty that there are estimated to be 3,000 in the town and the suburbs. All the streets echo with their pitiable cries; their lamentations pierce our walls and their sufferings our hearts in pity thereat......The poor in the fields seen like corpses dug up from their graves, the carrion upon which wolves feed is now the meat of Christians; for when they light upon dead horses, donkeys or other beasts, they glut

themselves with this putrid flesh which more often makes them die than live. The poor of the town feed like pigs upon a little bran soaked in cold water......They pick up in the gutters and in the mud slices of half rotten cabbage......In brief, wretchedness and dearth are become so universal that we are assured that in the neighbouring country half the peasants are reduced to eating grass, and that there are few roads which are not fringed with dead bodies." In another work (*La Police sous Louis XIV*) the same author has given details of the wide-spread havoc, caused by the famines of 1684, 1693-94, and 1709 in Fance. If in a country like France famine was frequent, it is not surprising if India, which had fewer facilities for transport, should have suffered from famine from time immemorial. "Famines are recorded from the very dawn of Indian history. In the Jataka Books they are referred to as one of the incidents of life in those days." (*The Economic Transition in India*, chapter v.)

Pestilence.

The first recorded outbreak of bubonic plague in India was in 1616 in the reign of Jahangir. There was plague in the Deccan in 1688. Ovington speaks of a violent pestilence during his stay at Surat in 1691. Plague first broke out six years before his arrival at the port and 'raged without interruption from the time of its first rise.'[47] There was famine and plague in the Deccan in 1702-4. According to Manucci two million people died in two years.[48]

The establishment of public hospitals in Muslim lands is proved beyond doubt. As regards India, we find from a description given by Maqrizi that there were seventy hospitals at Delhi during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluk.[49]

47. Ovington, 203.
48. *Storia*, iv. 97.
49. *Rasail-i-Shibli* (Urdu) p. 18.

Hospitals and physicians.

In his *Memoirs* Jahangir mentions the order that he issued for the building of hospitals. "They should found hospitals in the great cities, and appoint physicians for the healing of the sick; whatever the expenditure might be, should be given from the *khalisa* establishment."[50] We have not come across any account reciting the details about the working of the hospitals; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the establishment of free public dispensaries. Whether these dispensaries continued to exist in succeeding reigns cannot be definitely ascertained; we can, however, hazard the statement that Aurangzeb would not have stopped the benevolent activities of charitable institutions.

The existence of a dispensary is evidenced by Carr Stephen. He says, "To the north of Jami Masjid (of Delhi) was the Imperial Dispensary, and to the south was the Imperial College; both these buildings fell into ruin long before the rebellion of 1857....They were built with the mosque in 1060. A. H. (1650. A. D.") (*Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 255).

Sir Sayyid Ahmad in his *Asar-us-Sanadid* p. 69, mentions a hospital near the College named Dar-ul-Baqa which was repaired by Shahjahan.

From Manucci's account it is clear that there were a large number of physicians at Delhi, Lahore and other places. He says that the Emperor is extremely scrupulous over the selection of his physicians. He gives a list of titles conferred by the Emperor on the Court physicians and adds, "Those bearing the title of *khan* that is, 'noble,' have a gross allowance of from twenty, thirty, fifty, one hundred to two hundred thousand rupees a year."[51]

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50. *Memoir of Jahangir*, (R. and B. p. 9); *Mirat*, 187.

51. *Storia*, II 355-56.

There were physicians in every town, but they did not charge any fee from patients. Generally only men of means took to medicine; and the cultivation of this science was a part of an accomplished education.

Under the patronage of Sikandar Lodi a large number of books were translated and compiled; the *Argar-mahabedak*, a book in Sanskrit dealing with the science of medicine was translated into Persian (*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot iv, p. 446). We find in the *Wakiat-i-Mushtaqi* that "Miyan Bhudh succeeded to the late Khawas Khan and was confirmed in the dignity. He got together fine caligraphists and learned men, and employed them in writing books on every science. He brought books from Khurasan and gave them to learned and good men. Writers were continually engaged in this work. He assembled the physicians of Hind and Khurasan, and, collecting books upon the science of medicine, he had a selection made. The book so compiled received the name of *Tibb-i-Sikandari*; and there is no work of greater authority in India." (Elliot, iv. p. 451, n). Several books on medicine were compiled in the Mughal period, some of which are extant in private collections.

The combination of the Unani (Greek) system of medicine with that of the Vaidik (Hindu system) very much broadened the scope of the indigenous pharmacopœia. Though the Unani system is, in some respects, empirical, and inspite of the rival European system, it still claims adherence from a very large class of people.

In our period, as perhaps in the past, cholera and malaria took a heavy toll of life. Ovington mentions a curious cure for cholera. "It has been cured by a red-hot iron clapt to the heel of him that is sick, so close that it renders him uneasie by its nearness, whereby it leaves a scar behind it" (p. 205).

Some white powder was found very efficacious for malaria. "The general ease and cure which the white powder in India

gives to Feavers, makes that a very common and acceptable receipt there ; and it has, with very good success, been administered in England, sent from thence by the Indian physicians." (Ibid)

Surgery was not as developed as medicine, but the Indian surgeons (*jarrah*) performed some remarkable operations. During the Bijapur war when the enemy caught hold of any persons belonging to the Mughals they cut off their noses. The operation for artificial nose is thus described : "The surgeons belonging to the country cut the skin of the forehead above the eyebrows, and made it fall down over the wounds on the nose. Then, giving it a twist so that the live flesh might meet the other live surface, by healing applications they fashioned for them other imperfect noses. There is left above, between the eyebrows, a small hole, caused by the twist given to the skin to bring the two live surface together. In a short time the wounds heal up, some obstacle being placed beneath to allow of respiration. I saw many persons with such noses, and they were not so disfigured as they would have been without any nose at all, but they bore between the eyebrows the mark of the incision."[52]

Temperance and public health.

Though Jahangir had penalised the drinking of wine, his evil example was followed by some of the Muslim nobles. Shahjahan did not drink wine, but Dara did. The evil spread, and we find that by the time Aurangzeb ascended the throne, intemperance was common in Delhi. The Emperor took strong measures against wine and strictly forbade the use and sale of liquor. According to Manucci, the regulations were strict at first but they were gradually relaxed ; some of the nobles secretly began to distill spirits in their houses. There may have been many instances of the infringement of the penal law, but it appears from available evidence that intemperance had greatly decreased in the reign of Aurangzeb. Apart from

52. *Storia*, III, 301.

wine, orders were issued against the use of *bhang* (hemp leaves) and other intoxicants as well. Bernier speaks of "general habits of sobriety among the people."

There has been a lamentable deterioration in the general health of the people. They were much more healthy in the seventeenth century than they are now. "Gout, stone complaints in the kidneys, catarrh and quartan agues are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with any of these disorders... soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal disease, common as it is in *Hindoustan*, is not of so virulent a character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of the world. But although there is greater enjoyment of health, yet there is less vigour among the people than in our colder climates."[53]

Fryer, writing of the mortality among the English at Bombay and the parts adjacent, says: "Notwithstanding this mortality to the English, the country people......live to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance."[54]

It is surprising to find that the English at Surat were "much less vigorous and athletic in their bodies than the Indians."[55] The robustness of health was due to scrupulous regard for physical exercises which was a part of a boy's training. Every one was trained to be a soldier, and the feeling of self-reliance developed both body and mind.

Games and recreations.

From the *Ain* we find that *chaugan* (polo), *chaupar* (a game of dice), *ganjufa* (cards), and chess were the popular games. Hunting of wild beasts was a manly pastime. The Mughals sometimes hunted antelopes and deer with tame leopards and hawks. (Ovington, 161; Bernier, 367) Duck shooting was also common.

53. Bernier, 253-54.

54. *A New Account of East India and Persia* (Hakluyt Society 1909; vol. I p. 180.)

55. *A Voyage to Surat*, 204.

Recreation often consisted in frequenting the 'coolest groves and pleasant gardens adjacent to the city' where dancing wenches entertained the spectators with 'their sprightly motions and soft charming aspects' (*Ibid* 153).

Education.

The system of education prevalent in the Mughal period differed from that in vogue in modern India. The primary school was known as *maktab* which was generally attached to mosques. Here the Quran and elementary rules of reading and writing were taught. Akbar introduced a new system for imparting education.

Maktab.

The boys were first taught the Persian alphabet along with accents and marks of punctuation. After a few days they were taught the combination of two letters. After a week, they had to read short lines of prose or verse containing religious or moral sentiment, in which those combinations frequently occurred. After a few days, the teacher taught a new hemistich, and in a very short time, the boys could read with fluency. The teacher gave the boys four exercises daily, *viz.* the alphabet, the combinations, a new hemistich or distich, and repetition of previous lessons. This method proved very successful, so that what usually took them years was now accomplished in a few months. [56]

Maktabs were very common in the period under review; cities and towns swarmed with them; and in villages, wherever there was a large population of Muslims, there was a *maktab*.

Madrasah.

Madrasah was a school or college for higher learning. These were maintained either by nobles or private benefactors or depended on royal bounty. The curriculum for higher education was also fixed by Akbar. The sciences were taught in the following order:—morality, arithmetic, accounts, agriculture, geometry,

56. *Ain*. Blochmann's, 278-79; Gladwin, 192-193.

longimetry, astronomy, geomancy, economics, the art of Government, physics, logic, natural philosophy, mathematics, divinity and history. Akbars' regulations for education has been rejected by Mr. Vincent Smith (*Akbar*, p. 387) as bearing no relation to facts. The curriculum, however, was not meant to be strictly followed in every school ; it was only an indication of the subjects to be gradually studied.

Apart from *madrasahs*, much useful work was done by the domestic system of teaching. Houses of learned men were centres of instruction where students often carried on post-collegiate studies. Board and lodging was provided by rich men of the locality.

Promotion of learning by Aurangzeb.

It is beyond our province to trace the different schools and colleges founded by the Mughal Emperors. There is, however, sufficient data for the statement that Aurangzeb not only stimulated the foundation of schools, but maintained all the endowments made by previous Emperors and private benefactors in favour of educational institutions. We learn from Bernier (p. 292) that he confiscated the buildings belonging to the Dutch in Lucknow, known as Firangi Mahal, and had them converted into a *madrasah*. He sent orders throughout his Empire for the appointment of teachers and directed that all students reading the *Mizan* and the *Kashshaf* be given stipends from the State Treasury. In consequence, three professors and forty-five students were added to the existing number in Ahmadabad, Patan and Surat. (*Mirat*, 258). " Aurangzeb assisted students, in proportion to their proficiency, with daily stipends, *viz.* students of *Mizan* received 1 anna, of *Mun-sha'ib* 2 annas, and up to *Sharhi-wiqayah* and *Fiqh* 8 annas per diem." [57]

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57. *Tarikh-i-Farh-Baksh* of Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, translated by W. Hoey, p. 104; N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India*, 188.

In 1697 Akramuddin Khan Sadr built a college, named *Hidayat Baksh*, at Ahmadabad at the expense of Rs. 1,24,000. When he asked for help Aurangzeb granted as *jagir* village Sundra (in *parganah* Sanoly) and village Mitah (in *parganah* Kari) for the expenses of professors and students, and allowed Rs. 2 per day for kitchen (*langar*) (*Mirat* p. 344). Besides the college of Akramuddin Khan, there were other *madrasahs* established by private individuals. Qazi Rafiuddin Muhammad founded a college in Bianah. It bears an inscription dated 1080 A. H. (1670 A. D.).[58]

400 Colleges at Thatta.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Jaunpur, Delhi, Siyalkot and Thatta (in Sindh) were great seats of Muslim learning. The reputation of Siyalkot dates back to the time of Akbar. Hamilton who visited Thatta during the end of Aurangzeb's reign says, "The city of Thatta is famous for learning in theology, philology, and politicks, and *they have above* 400 *colleges for training* up youth in those parts of learning."[59]

Jaunpur.

Jaunpur reared its head as a famous seat of learning in the reign of Muhammad Ibrahim Sharqi. During his reign (1402-40 A. D.), the court of Jaunpur far outshone that of Delhi, and was the resort of all the learned men of the East. Here hundreds of mosques and *madrasahs* lay scattered, and scholars and teachers flocked from all parts of Hindustan. After the conquest of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodi and the destruction of colleges it fell on evil days. But the appearance of Humayun on the throne of Delhi restored its reputation as a centre of learning ; it continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Emperors. "It appears that up to the reign of Muhammad Shah, it was the usual practice of Delhi Emperors to send *farmans* to the *hakims* of Jaunpur in order that they might

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58. *Promotion of Learning*, 189.

59. *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I, 78.

never be amiss in their dutics towards the many students and professors in the city. Reports had to be sent to them by the Reporter stationed at Jaunpur after carefully inquiring into the state of every *madrasah*. Fresh grants were made if any *madrasah* appeared from the report to require them. Princes and Amirs while passing by this city used to pay visits to its *madrasahs* and make donations to please thereby the Delhi Sultans." 60

Defects of educational system.

From a review of the educational activities of the period the existence of a large number of *maktabs* and *madrasahs* is clearly established. Much stimulus was given to education by domestic teaching which aimed at the growth of the individual. In the old system individual attention was paid to cach student and no attempt was made at standardised mass production which is the characteristic feature of the present system of education. We, however, find that in the seventeenth century education had grown too formal and scholastic. While Europe was just beginning to divest itself of mediaeval crudities and superstition and laying the foundation of a scientific research and critical investigation the Indian Muslims did not attempt to get out of the quagmire of useless dialecticism. There is no doubt that sciences were taught in schools and colleges; and there were a number of eminent theologians and jurists. But we do not hear of scholars who profiting by the profundity of Arab or Indian philosophers tried to break new ground or to make any advance on the researches of Ibn Tufail, Ibn Sina or Ibn Rushd.

Aurangzeb's criticism.

Aurangzeb's view of the current system of education is indicated in the following lines in which he complains of his harassment for several years with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which

60. *Tazkirat-ul-Ulama*, MS in A. S. B, leaves 3 ff. quoted in N. N. Law's *Promotion of Learning*, 108

yield no satisfaction to the mind—propositions that seldom enter into the business of life ; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived ; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man head-strong and insufferable." (Bernier, 160). Addressing his quandom tutor, Aurangzeb is alleged to have said, " Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth ; its resources and strength ; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of Government, and wherein its interests principally consist, and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of States, their progress and decline ; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions, have been effected ?" (ibid, 156.)

Aurangzeb was against the rigid formalism of the prevalent system of education, and advocated some of the very reforms which are being sought by the leading educationalists of the present day. " The formation of high ideals and of such habits of thought and action as would enable the pupil to meet all the difficulties of life with wisdom and courage" and "the desirability of connecting the education with the vocation to be followed by the pupil in after-life " were the two points urged by Aurangzeb as necessary to a good education.[61]

Aurangzeb's ideas about prayer.

Inspite of his conservatism, Aurangzeb seems to have advocated a remarkably radical attitude in relation to prayers. He questioned his tutor in the following words : " Can we repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of Arabic ? May not our devotions be offered up as acceptably, and solid information communicated as easily, in our mother tongue ?" (Bernier, 159).

61. F. E Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 137.

How far the Emperor's revolutionary ideas were acceptable to the ecclesiastics of the day is not known, but men of his race in Turkey after a passage of two hundred years are pleading for the same point of view, much to the disgust of the orthodox people.

Libraries.

The Mughal Emperors were great bibloliophiles. Akbar had a splendid library, but the total number of volumes is not known. When the inventory of his treasures was taken after his death, the books 'written by great men, mostly by very ancient and serious authors, adorned with extremely valuable bindings, numbered 24,000, valued at nearly six and a half millions of rupees (6,463,731).

The average valuation for each volume therefore comes to from £ 27 to £ 30, according to the rate of exchange assumed. According to Vincent Smith, Akbar 'collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value, to which probably no parallel then existed or ever has existed in the world."[62] Jahangir and Shahjahan made additions to the Imperial Library. Aurangzeb collected *Tafsirs*, works on *Hadis*, *Fiqh* etc. After the fall of Bijapur, all the most valuable manuscripts of the royal Adil Shahi Library were taken away by Aurangzeb in cart-loads.[63] From a contribution in the *Islamic Culture*, however, we find that the library of Bijapur was intact till 1853 and most of the manuscripts bore the seal of Aurangzeb.[64] The Imperial Library was taken away by Nadir Shah and the rare manuscripts have been lost to the world.

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62. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 424.

63. Fergusson's *Architecture at Bijapur*, p. 75; Law, *Promotion of Learning*, 94.

64. *Islamic Culture*, Haidarabad, vol. VIII, No. 1, January 1934, pp. 115-119.

Caligraphy.

The art of caligraphy was highly esteemed in Muslim countries. Specimens of handiwork of noted artists used to be collected and carefully preserved. A caligraphist enjoyed a greater reputation than a painter. According to the *Ain*, Ibn-i-Muqlah introduced seven different modes of writing in 920 A. D. from the *Maakli* and *Kufi* scripts, *viz. Suls, Tauqi, Muhaqqaq, Naskh, Raihan, Riqa*, and *Ghubar*. *Ta'liq* is another mode of writing, and attributed to Taj Salmani. The eighth character is the *Nasta'liq* which is all curve, and formed out of *Naksh* and *Ta'liq*. Khwajah Mir Ali Tabrizi is alleged to have been its composer in the time of Timur, but Abul Fazl says, that he had seen books in *Nasta'liq* written before the reign of that monarch. The various modes of writing differed from one another by differences in the proportion of curved and straight lines.

The Mughal Emperors gave great encouragement to penmanship. Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, known as *Zarrin Qalam*, was a famous caligraphist of Akbar's Court. Mir Sayyid Ali Khan came to India in Shahjahan's time, and was given the title *of Jawahar Raqam*. He was ordered to teach the art of penmanship to Aurangzeb. Another caligraphist, Abdul Baqi, presented a copy of the *Qur'an* to Aurangzeb covering only thirty pages. He was called *Yaqut Raqam*.[65]

Aurangzeb had attained great proficiency in writing the *Naskh* and *Nast'aliq* character. (*Alamgirnamah* 1092). He wrote two copies of the *Qur'an* and sent it to Mecca (*Ibid*, 1093). The binding and the marginal floral designs had cost Rs. 7,000. (M. A. 532). There are four extant copies of the *Qur'an* written by Aurangzeb: (1) a copy in possession of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad. (2) a copy owned by Sayyid Khurshid Ali Sahib, Nazim Divani, Haidarabad. (3) a copy owned by the Nawab of Mangrol. This has

65. Hidayat Husain, *Tazkira Khusnavisan-i-Hind*, pp. 57, 125.

been published in facsimilie by a firm in Delhi. 4, *Panj Sura* (*i. e.* five chapters of the *Quran*) in possession of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, Buhar Collection. The manuscript of the *Qur'an* which Aurangzeb used to read is now in possession of Columbia University (America). It bears a few sentences in Arabic written by Aurangzeb on the last page. (*Muqaddima Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 51, 52).

Before the introduction of the printing press caligraphists were much in demand. They were employed not only to copy out manuscripts but also to write inscriptions which were decoratively arranged on the walls of buildings and monuments. Caligraphy and painting were an allied art. The Mughal miniature differed from any other style of Indian painting by the caligraphic character of its outlines.[66]

Painting.

The Mughal school of painting is associated with the Mughal Emperors of India; but its ancestral home was in Herat and Samarqand, where, under the descendants of Tamerlane, Persian art reached its zenith. Painting received a great impetus under their patronage, and eminent and distinguished artists were much sought after by the cultured monarchs. About the close of the fifteenth century, under the protection of Sultan Husain of Khurasan, lived Bihzad, the most distinguished artist of the time Babar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, and a descendant of Timur, was a great connoisseur of the fine art. He had critically studied the masterpieces of Bihzad, "the Raphael of the East." "It was with the descendants of such a school as Bihzad's, and under the personal patronage of the Emperor Akbar that the Mogul school of painting came into being."

66. For caligraphy see Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musalman*, Paris, 1908 and Professor Hidayat Husain, *Tazkira Khusnavisan-i-Hind*, Calcutta.

Babar took with him to India all the specimens he could collect from the library of his ancestors. These manuscripts, we are told, exercised the greatest influence on the art of India.[67]

It appears from the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of his *Memoirs* that Babar had painters working under his patronage, and the illustrations contained in that manuscript are supposed to represent the style of painting then in vogue.[68]

During his exile in Persia, Humayun studied the art, music, and poetry of Persia, and thus came in contact with the two leading artists of the period—Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz, a pupil of Bihzad, and Khwaja Abdul Samad, both of whom were later on persuaded to join his Court at Kabul in 1550. The two artists were directed to give lessons in drawing to Akbar. Humayun also commissioned Mir Sayyid Ali to prepare the illustrations to *Dastan-i-Amir-Hamza.*

After the death of Humayun, Akbar was engaged in consolidating his dominion, and Mir Sayyid Ali was busy with the *Dastan.* Meanwhile Akbar had attracted to his Court not only Persian artists, but a number of Hindu artists as well. With the departure of Mir Sayyid Ali to Mecca the work of preparing the illustrations was transferred to Khwaja Abdul Samad. Till then Persian influence was predominant, the paintings of the *Dastan* indicating the style in vogue at Tabriz. But by 1562, the fusion of Hindu and Mughal style had begun to manifest itself, as evidenced by the picture depicting the arrival of Tansen, the famous singer, at the Mughal Court.[69]

67. Martin's *Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey*, Vol. I, p. 79.

68. L. Binyon, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, introductions*, p. 14.

69. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*. pp. 61 ff.

The Mughal School of painting, however, owes its inception to Akbar's project of building Fatehpur Sikri in 1569. Hindu and Persian artists were employed to prepare sketches for decorating the walls of stately buildings. The joint labour and fruitful collaboration of Indian and Persian painters led to the establishments of a school of Indo-Persian Art.

Indo-Persian School.

Vincent Smith is of the opinion that one of the illustrations to the *Darabnamah*, a story-book prepared to Akbar's order, composed by Bihzad and touched up by Abdul Samad, represents "the earliest book illustrations of the Indo-Persian School, and it is possible that it may even antedate the foundation of Fatehpur Sikri" (*Akbar*, 427).

Akbar brought into being the new school of painting. Persian books were richly illuminated by eminent and distinguished artists. The *Dastan-i-Amir-Hamza* in twelve volumes begun by Humayun and completed under Akbar was illustrated by 1400 paintings; fifty artists worked at it. (*Ma'asiral-umara*, II. 3). The famous manuscript of *Razm-Namah*, the Persian version of the *Mahabharata* is said to have cost Akbar about £40,000 a sum which in our days would be much greater. It is now at Jaipur.[70]

Jehangir had a great artistic sense, and he developed the Mughal painting to its fullest extent. The art attained its apogee under his reign. Portraiture and hunting scenes were the favourite subjects of this period; Jahangir extended the field of activity and ordered beautiful flowers and rare animals to be painted.

Portraiture was a special feature of the Mughal painting. The genius of the Mughal painter is best reflected in the delineation of actual

Portraiture.

70. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey*, Volume I, p. 127.

features. The painting of the face and head is a marvel of exquisite fineness and delicate finish which help us in realising the soul and character of the sitter. The rich brocades and cloths of gold which formed the garments of the aristocratic class provided the artist with excellent opportunities for brilliant schemes of mosaic colouring.

Though Persian influence was predominant during Akbar's reign, it gradually weakened after Jahangir's accession until Persian style was replaced by a type which was essentially Indian. The Mughal school of painting attained the highest pitch of excellence under the patronage of the royal dilettante. Under the reign of Shahjahan signs of slight deterioration manifested themselves. The drawings do not have the same robustness of character as were found in the work of the earlier reign. Decadence set in when Aurangzeb ascended the throne. Without the stimulus of royal patronage the art languished. The artists attached to the Court found themselves in a precarious position. They sought new masters and new fields to exercise their talent. At this period a new orientation was given to the art of painting. Till the reign of Shahjahan the art was an aristocratic one, produced to the order of the monarch and the nobles around the court. The subjects of painting were court life and portraiture of important personages. But with the scattering of the artists to remote places the latter were constrained to find themes which may be capable of popular appreciation. "Mughal art in its first period had been mainly an art of illustration; in its second and finest period it was wholly an art of portraiture. From the time of Aurangzeb onwards, while the court art is less vigorous and less distinguished, there is a gradual reversion to more popular themes and to the atmosphere of native Indian life. The exotic Persian element has practically disappeared."[71]

71. L. Binyon; *Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, p. 68.

The disintegration of the artistic community in the reign of Aurangzeb proved to be a blessing in disguise. The settlement of families of hereditary painters in a group of small States in the Punjab Himalayas gave a fresh stimulus to the art. The work produced by the artists is alluded to by experts as of the "Kangra Qalm," as the leading state was that of Kangra.

Mola Ram is a distinguished artist of the so called Rajput School of painting. His ancestors were Shyamdas and Kehardas, painters in the service of Sulaiman Shukoh, son of Dara Shukoh. Sulaiman had taken refuge with Raja Fateh Singh of Garhwal. When the latter surrendered the Prince to Aurangzeb the two artists were detained behind. Mola Ram is the author of most of the paintings; he was a disciple of a Muslim Sufi, and a good Hindi and Persian poet. Mola Ram's descendants are still called *Musawwar* in their native town Srinagar (Garhwal).[72]

Rajput paintings based on Mughal art.

Attempts have been made to connect the supposed Rajput School of painting with the old fresco-paintings in Indian caves. But the art of miniature-paintings did not exist before the Great Mughals. It has no connection whatsoever with the tradition or technique of Ajanta frescoes. "Nothing is less certain than the derivation of the Rajput miniatures from the frescoes of Ajanta which are remote from each other by a thousand years."[73]

We are struck by the delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour and minuteness of decorative detail of Rajput paintings. The subjects of the handiwork differ from the themes that were in vogue during Akbar and Jahangir, but in its general design the technique is essentially that of the Mughal school.

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72. *Rupam*, Nos. 8, 26, 37 and 40.

73. Sakesian Bey, *La Miniature Persane, Introduction.*

The Middle class.

Social activities centered round the official class, the *literati* and the aristocracy. There is no doubt that a large educated middle class such as exists to-day did not exist in the seventeenth century; but at the same time it is wrong to say that there was no middle class and that a man must be either of the highest rank or live miserably.' Humayun's classification of the inhabitants of his empire indicate the gradations of rank assigned to different categories of his subjects. He divided people into three classes.

(1) The holy men, the *literati*, the law-officers, and scientists were grouped together and called *Ahl-i-Sa'adat*, because association with such men brought good fortune and prosperity.

(2) The relations of the Emperor, the nobles and ministers as well as the military, were called *Ahl-i-Daulat*, men of wealth.

(3) Those who possessed beauty and elegance, musicians and singers were designated as *Ahl-i-Murad*.[74]

Society in Islamic countries was classified not so much according to wealth as according to personal merit. *Ahli-i-Sa'adat* or men of knowledge commanded greater esteem than men of wealth. Even in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq judges and jurists were given precedence over the Sultan's brothers, nobles, and military officers. (*Safarnama Ibn Batuta* [Urdu], p. 95.) The *Ahli-i-Sa'adat* together with land-holders, merchants, physicians and officials of inferior grade formed the middle class in Mughal India. Rich in knowledge and accomplishments the middle class wielded considerable influence.

The aristocracy.

The high grade nobles formed a class by themselves. They set the standard for the commonalty. The aristocracy consisted not only of the

74. *Humayun-Namah*, Elliot, V. pp. 119-124.

Mughals, but of Pathans, Shaikhs, Sayyids, and Hindus. They lived in a uniform style. Commanding wealth and power they satisfied their whims and desires to their hearts content. Theirs was a life of splendour, but of an inordinate extravagance.

European travellers have often contrasted the luxurious life of the nobles with the grinding poverty of the poor; and the critics in preparing 'a balance sheet' have invariably succumbed to loose generalisations. Two points have been advanced in relation to the aristocratic class; that the position of the nobles was as unstable as the wind, and that their extravagant life constituted an economic drain.

Their stability.

There is no doubt that the Sovereign's will was the law; he could degrade and elevate whom he liked. But inspite of extreme arbitrary powers the Mughal Emperors exercised their discretions in a wise manner. Till the reign of Aurangzeb there was hardly an instance in which anyone was elevated to a high position but on grounds of personal merit and proved loyalty. Starting with a very small beginning scores of people reached the pinnacle of power by sheer dint of approved service. Instances were, however, numerous where a new Sovereign dispensed with the services of nobles on distinct acts of disloyalty or for reasons of personal animosity. But cases where a noble or a *mansabdar* was arbitrarily dismissed merely for the sake of a passing whim are either unknown or extremely rare. Though loyal to the reigning Emperor the nobles secretly attached themselves to the prince who, in their estimation, was likely to succeed. The contests for succession were recurring; and the new sovereign certainly discriminated between friend and foe. But, apart from the above contingency, the position of the nobles was as stable as it could be.

There was no hereditary aristocracy, apart from the Hindu Rajas. The sons of nobles had to carve out a career for themselves; they could not claim their father's patrimony. If the sons had not striven to distinguish themselves, they were doomed to live in comparative indigence. The fall from plenty to penury was often sudden. The Mughal Emperors resisted the concentration of power in any class. As a device to keep the nobles under control the system was perhaps commendable, but in other respects it was defective to a degree.

European travellers were amazed at the army of servants in the employ of the *Umrah*. They, however, failed to appreciate the simple fact that each member of the household was enlisted in the contingent which a noble was ordered to maintain, and that even the meanest servant was often dressed up as a soldier when muster-rolls were checked. The nobles undoubtedly practised fraud on the Government.

No economic drain.

They lived in an extravagant manner without any thought of the future. Though their wealth was wrung from the sweat of the poor, it went back to its original source in one form or another. In building palaces or making dresses for themselves and their women-folk, or ordering costly carpets and furniture, the nobles distributed their wealth among masons and various craftsmen. There was a great demand for articles of luxury with the result that crafts and industries were in a flourishing condition. By squandering their wealth the nobles harmed themselves more than the Sovereign Congregation (*jamait*) of which they formed a part. They often left their family in an indigent state after their death. Though a good portion of their money went towards unproductive purposes, from a strictly economic point of view their extravagance augmented the purchasing power of the people, thus increasing the general

level of prosperity. Hoarded treasure used only for the purpose of usuary is certainly uneconomic; and in the period under review the class which commanded capital and hoarded it did not make any better use of its treasured bullion than demanding an exhorbitant rate of interest.

The extravagance of the nobles was often diverted to beneficial channels. They built *serais*, schools and dispensaries; they collected rare books and encouraged fine arts.

We get a glimpse of life in cities from the accounts of European travellers and merchants. There were more *kachha* (made of clay) than *pakka* (made of brick) houses; but most of the houses had gardens with a plentiful supply of water. The houses were "airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens. being commodious inside and containing good furniture." Every good house had a *diwan-khana* or audience-room which was spread with handsome carpets.

Life in cities and towns.

"Here the Lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, and here all his subordinates come to salam him .. .. If strangers desire admittance, their names are first announced and they are then introduced. After saluting, they take seats appropriate to their position in a row on each side of their host......... There is a certain gravity in their mode of speaking; they make no loud noise, and do not shout or use gestures" (*Pelsaert*).

There were *hammams* or baths in larger towns. The streets were cleaned daily by sweepers (Ovington, 223). Tea was becoming the common drink of the inhabitants (*ibid*, 180).

There was no vehicular traffic in the streets. People rode on horseback or majestic elephants; but palanquins were much in use. On one side of the *palki* was seen a servant bearing the *pikdan* or spittoon of silver; on the other side, two more servants fanned the occupant of the *palki* and flapped away the flies with a peacock's-tail fan; three or four footmen marched in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen followed in the rear.

Religious festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show. We find that during *Muharram* feelings often ran high. 'If two parties meet carrying their biers (*i. e. tazias*), and one will not give place to the other, then, if they are evenly matched, they may kill each other as if they were enemies at open war."

Weddings.

Ceremonies relating to weddings were as elaborate as they are even to-day. After feasts guests were entertained by singers and dancers. There were *lolis* descended from courtesans who had come from Persia to India and who sang only in Persian. There were *domnis* who sang in Hindustani and whose songs were considered more amorous, and more profound than those of the Persians; "they danced to the rhythm of the songs with a kind of swaying of the body which is not lascivious, but rather modest." Marriages were registered in the Qazi's book. (*Pelsaert*, 83).

Security of life and property.

In determining the state of security during the Mughal period the political condition and the habits of the people deserve attention. In those eventful days any man with a lance and sword felt the urge of high ambition and endeavoured to carve out a carere at his neighbour's expense; and lance and sword, shot and powder could be had at every street corner. The common people had almost the same weapons for offensive and defensive purposes as the Mughal police and army. The populace had at their disposal the means for carrying out their defiance of authority, and, more often than not, they translated their sinister designs into action. In an age when distances were long and means of communication very scanty, when risings were frequent, and public and private passions were easily aroused, the wonder is not that the Mughals kept peace in the country, but that they kept it so well.

The assertion that the Mughals absolutely ignored the policing of rural areas is without foundation. In every village there was a headman and some watchmen who were responsible for the detection and prevention of crime. This arrangement existed in India from time immemorial, and the Mugals maintained it. A village was responsible for any loss of property occurring within its limits.

Policing of rural areas.

In every district, then known as *faujdari*, there were several *thanas*, as at present. The *thanadar* had much the same responsibility for keeping peace and order in his circle as the *faujdar* had over the entire district. Apart from the *faujdar*, the *amil* or collector of revenue sent a number of footmen and troopers in villages for protecting grain (*muhafizat ghallat*).[75]

There can be no doubt that robbers lurked in hills and jungles, but the public highways were generally free from marauders. The state of security depended on the efforts of individual *faujdars* which varied in different places. Some were more vigilant than others, while some were negligent of their duties. Consequently travellers had different experiences to narrate.

In the early part of Aurangzeb's reign, Manucci travelled from Agra to Dacca and back without any untoward incident. He says, "the routes I had traversed are much frequented, full of villages and *suraes*, food being good and cheap." (II-96). Hamilton who, in the latter part of the reign, travelled six score miles between Jaggarnath and Cuttak 'found little else worth noticing but numbers of villages intersperst in the plain countries' (I-215). Ovington, who was at Surat in 1692, describes the town as 'more populous than any part of London.' This was inspite of the Maratha raids of

75. *Mirat*, 275-276.

1664 and 1670. "To this city is frequented by a conflux of several nations, and peopled by abundance of foreigners as well as natives, whose mixt concourse and mutual conversations might be apt to raise tumults and disputes, yet they very rarely happen, so much as to cause even a slight punishment. And for capital inflictions, there are seldom criminals so daring as to merit or incur the guilt of them."[76]

Number of dacoities in U. P.

It will be futile to deny the existence of thieves and robbers. But, considering the times. their number was, perhaps, less than the dacoities committed in a district or province in our own day. Though railways have eliminated the dangers which travellers by road encountered in the period under review, and there is unprecedented peace in the country, yet we find that in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 727 dacoities were committed in 1930, 1026 in 1931 and 1095 in 1932.[77] As the above figures represent robberies committed in rural areas, it will be rash to conclude that the country side has been grievously neglected by the powers that be. Robberies in the Mughal period were as much in proportion to the prevailing conditions in the country as they are now. Life and property were generally secure, though in travelling caution was necessary.

In towns and cities peace and order was maintained by the Kotwal. He resembled

"a justice of the Peace in endeavouring the suppression of all Enormities in the City. For which reason he is oblig'd to ride the streets for prevention of Disorder, thrice in the Night, at 9-12, and 3 a clock, 'till 5 in the morning, at which hours the Drums beat, and a large long Copper Trumpet sounds aloud. The *Catoual* is always attended with several peons and soldiers arm'd with Swords, Lances, Bows and Arrows, and some with a very dreadful weapon, a Rod of Iron about a Cubits' length, with a large

76. Ovington, 138.

77. U. P. Government's Resolution on Administration of the Police for 1930, 1931 and 1932.

Ball of Iron at the end, which is able with ease to dash out the Brains, or break and shatter the bones at once. When he meets with a person guilty of petty Irregularities, or some trivial offence, he confines him for some time; but if his Misdemeanour be more notorious, he must smart for it by a Chawbuck or Bastinado." (Ovington, 137).

Condition in England compared.

It will be interesting to compare the condition of security in England in 1660. "Fighting was the darling pastime of its biosterous people. In Moorfields on holidays the butchers out of hereditary hatred fell upon the weavers, till they were glad to pull off their aprons and hide them in their breeches; or sometimes it would be the weavers who won, wounding and bruising all their rivals and calling out round the town: *A hundred pounds for a butcher!* Since there were no police, the warlike tastes of the people were quite untrammelled. The very Inns of Court were riotous, and when the Lord Mayor elected to go to dinner in the Temple with his sword borne before him, the students pulled it down and besieged him, all day in a councillor's room. Even in Oxford, a learned antiquary belaboured one of his fellow dons whenever he met him, giving him many a bloody nose and black eye." 78

Redress of grievances.

Assertion is often made that there were little facilities for redress of grievances. In a preceding chapter we have mentioned that in almost every *parganah* there were a *thanadar*, a number of *patwaris* and *qanungos;* in every sub division a Qazi resided; and at the headquarters of the district lived the *amil* and the *faujdar* whose duty it was to listen to the complaints of the people. There were secret news-reporters who kept the authorities informed of occurrences, small and great. People did encounter difficulties in securing redress against the excesses of district officers themselves. But from available evidence it appears that flagrant breaches of duty were promptly punished. Numerous instances can be cited where district officers were transferred or dismissed on complaint.

Aurangzeb had such a hold over the country that offenders could not hope to escape easily from Mughal territories.

78. *Charles II*, by Arthur Bryant, (1931) p. 87.

When Bidar Bakht, the son of Prince Azam, was sent against Rajaram Jat to capture the fort of Sansani (a place between Hathras and Aligarh) it was rumoured that the Prince was willing to compromise on the condition that Rajaram should give his brother's daughter to the Prince and himself go out of the fort. Aurangzeb learnt the news from the letter of the *nazir* of the Prince. He wrote, "There is no harm. Giving a daughter is a mark of submission. He may go out of the fort, but where will he go outside the imperial territory." (*Anecdotes*, 79).

Vigilance of Mughal officers.

The vigilance kept by Mughal officers is indicated by the following anecdote related by Khafi Khan: A Hindu student of Surat had gone to Benares to learn medicine and astrology. He lived with a Brahman on whose behalf he used to attend on pilgrims on the bank of the Ganges. One day while it was still dark a man came to him on the river bank and, giving him a handful of jewels and gold coins, asked him to quickly attend to him. The student had just shaved the beard of the new-comer but had not finished the ablutions and other religious rites when there was a sudden commotion for the pursuit of Sivaji, and *gurz-bardars* (mace-bearers) arrived on the scene. The pilgrim suddenly disappeared, but the student kept the secret to himself (K. K. II. 220). It was a mere chance that Sivaji escaped, but the incident denotes the vigilance of Mughal officers.

English merchants pray for Aurangzeb's conquest.

The condition of security in Aurangzeb's reign is indicated by the two following letters which passed between the English factories at Bombay, Surat and Karwar. The correspondents express the hope that Aurangzeb will be able to conquer all the land on the Western coast.

(1) "Our troubles are renewed daily and we can never expect the Factory to flourish as long as it is under Sevagees Government; they have robbed all the country people soe much as to the seed they should sowe, soe that the next year the men will be ready to eat one another for the new crop will be very small; *all the people pray that the Moores* (*i.e.* *Muslims*) *may come and regane the country.*" [79]

(2) "The peace between the Mogul and Sevagee we hear is broken again....... We are sorry to find it so, expect the Mogul would prosecute the war in person, *and take all the country about us which would be far better.*" [80]

Moral and religious reforms.

The contact of Islam with the various religious sects of India brought about a change in the moral and religious outlook of a large body of Muslims. After the triumph of Brahmanism over its rival faith, Hinduism constituted an agglomeration of pre-Aryan superstition, Vedic ritualistic doctrines, principles of Buddhism, and the philosophy of the *Upanishads*. This pliancy of faith and teaching, at once varied and colourful, satisfied people of different levels and inclinations. While on the one hand Hinduism satisfied the speculative mind and all those who revelled in sober reflections and high metaphysics, on the other, it propagated doctrines and dogmas that deepened ignorance and supplied a store of starkest superstition. When the Muslims settled down in India, and a large number of Hindus were converted to Islam, the latter, adhering to ancient cults, gave a new garb to old superstitions. A perusal of the *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*—written in the reign of Shahjahan—leaves one aghast at the moral degradation that had overtaken those who called themselves Muslims. Among them had sprung up various sects whose

79. *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 88, fols. 73 and 74.
80. Orme Mss. Vol. 119, p. 78.

precepts and practices were extremely abhorrent. The following account is from the *Dabistan*.

"There is a sect in India known as Muslim *Sufis*...... They allege that they do not owe anything to the teachings of the Prophet; on the contrary, the Prophet has borrowed many points from them...........They style themselves *Madaryas*, and, like the *Sannayasis*, they rub ashes on their body, excessively use *bhang*, and always sit before a fire. They do not observe fasts and prayers .... According to them, when the Prophet was elevated to the skies (*Miraj*), and when he reached the Heaven, he found its gate as narrow as the eye of a needle. Then the angel Gabriel told him to invoke the help of Madar and say *dam madar*. The Prophet did as advised; then the gate widened, and the Prophet entered the Heaven." (p. 214).

"There are people who are known as the disciples of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, and are *Shiahs*. The members of this sect execrate the Khalifs, and do not observe fasts and prayers. They use *bhang* and eat snakes and scorpions. They say that Ali (the fourth Khalif) has taken the form of a fish. Like the *Madaryas* they remain naked......... Their High Priests every day behave like a new son-in-law. Whenever they hear of any pretty daughter of their disciples, they visit their houses and take possession of the girl." (*Ibid*, 215).

Describing the worshippers of *shakti*, a Hindu sect, the author remarks, "They go to the place where the dead bodies of the Hindus are cremated, and eat human flesh...... .... They have sexual intercourse with women openly before every one. This act is called *shakti puja* (worship of *shakti*) by them. It is declared to be more meritorious if the sexual intercourse is effected with another man's wife. The disciples present their wives and daughters to their preceptors (*Ibid*, 189)."

The author of the *Dabistan* has given interesting accounts of various people who, posing as ascetics and spiritualists, had reached the lowest depth of moral degradation. The extravagant religious notions of Akbar and Dara had contaminated even the upper strata of Muslim society and had brought about a debasement entirely out of accord with Islam and its simple preachings. Aurangzeb had claimed the throne as a champion of Islam; his first duty, therefore, was to improve the morals of the people. With this end he introduced reforms which are detailed in the *History of Aurangzeb* (III. 88-104). One has to read the following remarks of Aqil Khan in the setting which we have described above: "The innovators, atheists, heretics who had deviated from the straight path of Islam, infidels, hypocrites and the spiritually indifferent who had spread over India,—were chastised and forced to give up their wicked courses, obey the theologians and observe the fasts and prayers regularly." (M. A. 93).

Aurangzeb attempted to arrest the evil tendencies that led to effiminacy and moral degradation. Without regard of sects and creeds he stopped the reprehensible practices of those who under cover of religion were leading people astray.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PERSONAL.

Aurangzeb's teachers.

The *Badshahnama* mentions only the name of Mir Hashim Gilani as the tutor of Aurangzeb, but from other accounts it appears that the latter sat as a pupil before several men of distinction. Maulvi Abdul Latif Sultanpuri seems to be the first teacher of Aurangzeb.[1] Mulla Mohan was another teacher. His original name was Muhiuddin, and he was a resident of Bihar.[2] Hamiduddin in his *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* remarks that Aurangzeb used to take lessons from the *Wazir*, Sa'adullah Khan. Sayyid Muhammad of Qanauj is also reported to be a teacher of Aurangzeb.[3] Mulla Shaikh Ahmad, popularly called Mulla Jivan, is the best known teacher of Aurangzeb. He was a resident of Amethi in Lucknow district. It is related that Aurangzeb read Imam Ghazali's famous book, *Ahya-ul-Ulum* under the guidance of Danishmand Khan.[4] Shaikh Abdul Qavi prided himself on being a tutor of Aurangzeb (M. U. I. 225). It seems that Aurangzeb took lessons in a variety of subjects from different scholars all of whom claimed to be his teachers.

Apart from the Holy Book, Aurangzeb had made a careful study of the sayings of the Prophet, Muslim jurisprudence and scholastic literature. He was very fond of the works of Imam Ghazali; and books and pamphlets written by saints and *sufis* were his favourite studies (*Alamgirnamah*, 1103). He was an Arabic and Persian scholar, and was acquainted with Turki, Hindi, and Hindustani. His letters are masterpieces of epistolary literature. Their diction and design, clarity of style, neatness of phraseology, and dignified

1. *Tazkira Ulamai Hind.*
2. *Ma'asirul Kiram*, 43.
3. *Tazkira Ulamai Hind*, 83.
4. *Farhat-un-Nazirin.*

incisiveness at once point to a marked originality. They are punctuated with apt verses and correct quotations, faithfully depicting the working of the writer's mind; his prejudices and predilections, his plans and policies are laid bare before us. In learning and erudition no Muslim monarch of India matched him. If he had not been a powerful sovereign, he would have still attained fame as a profound scholar.

Marriage and children

Aurangzeb's principal wife, Dilras Banu, was the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, a scion of the Imperial House of Persia. Aurangzeb was serving in the Deccan when he was called to Agra by Shahjahan and married to the Persian Princess on 8th May, 1637. She bore him five children:

(1) Zeb-un-Nissa was born on 15th February, 1638. She was a Persian scholar and wrote verses under the pen-name of *Makhfi*. Owing to her complicity with Prince Akbar who had rebelled against the Emperor she was imprisoned at Delhi in 1681. She died at Delhi on 26th May, 1702. Romance has woven legendary tales of love between her and one Aqil Khan, but these are pure fiction.[5]

(2) Zinat-un-Nissa was born in October, 1643. She was greatly respected for her piety and charity. She built the Zinat-ul-Masajid, better known as *Kuari Masjid* or Maiden's Mosque. She died long after Aurangzeb.

(3) Zubdat-un-Nissa was born in September, 1651. She was married to Sipahr Shukoh, son of Dara. She died in 1707.

(4) Muhammad Azam was born at Burhanpur in June, 1653. He was slain at Jajaw in the war of succession on 8th June, 1707.

(5) Muhammad Akbar, was born at Aurangabad, on 11th September, 1657. He rebelled against the Emperor, and died in exile in Persia.

5. *Studies in Mughal India*, 79 et seq.

Dilras Banu died at Aurangabad on 8th October, 1657.

Rahmat-un-Nissa, surnamed *Nawab Bai*, was another wife of Aurangzeb. She was the daughter of Raja Raju of the Rajauri State in Kashmir. She was Rajput by blood. She bore three children to the Emperor:

(1) Muhammad Sultan, born in 1639, died in prison, December, 1676. (2) Muhammad Muazzam, surnamed Shah Alam, ascended the Mughal throne as Bahadur Shah. He was born at Burhanpur on 4th October, 1643, died on 18th February, 1712. (3) Badr-un-Nissa, born November, 1647, died April, 1670.

Nawab Bai died at Delhi in 1691.

According to Waris, Akbar had introduced the system of naming the wives after the cities in which they entered the royal harem. Aurangabadi Mahal, was so called because she became the wife of Aurangzeb at Aurangabad. She died of plague in 1688 at Bijapur. She was the mother of Mihr-un-Nissa who was married to Izid Bakhsh, son of Murad. Mihr-un-Nissa died in June, 1706.

Udaipuri Mahal was the favourite wife of Aurangzeb. She was previously a Georgian slave-girl of Dara's harem. She was the mother of Kam Bakhsh. The latter was born at Delhi on 24th February, 1667, and was slain in the war of succession on 3rd January, 1709.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar describes Udaipuri Mahal as 'Aurangzeb's youngest and best loved concubine.' This assertion is a misinterpretation of the Canon Law. "Concubinage, the union of people standing to each other in the relation of master and slave, without the sanction of matrimony, existed among the Arabs, the Jews, the Christians, and all the neighbouring nations. The Prophet did not in the beginning denounce the custom, but towards the end of his career he expressly forbade it."

"And you are permitted to marry virtuous women who are believers,......when you have provided them their portions, living *chastely* with them without fornication, *and not taking concubines*." (*Quran*, sura v. 7).[6]

Hira Bai, surnamed Zainabadi Mahal, was a slave-girl in the keeping of Mir Khalil who had married a sister of Mumtaz Mahal, Aurangzeb's mother. When Aurangzeb was Viceroy of the Deccan he saw Hira Bai strolling in the park of Zainabad. It was a case of love at first sight. The girl was sent to Aurangzeb and entered his harem (see ante, p. 14).

Dil'aram and Daulatabadi Mahal are also recorded to belong to Aurangzeb's harem. (M. A. 151, 318).

Aurangzeb's piety.

Aurangzeb's piety has become a by-word. He strictly followed the Islamic Commands and Prohibitions (*amr wa nawahi*). He offered his prayers punctually. He kept fast for four days in a week. During the month of *Ramzan* he passed his nights in prayers. (M. A. 525).

In spite of his preoccupations he found time to commit the entire *Qur'an* to memory during the course of one year (1661-1662).[7]

"The King......sleeps for three hours only, and on awakening offers up his usual prayers which occupy an hour and a half......Every year he goes into penitential retirement for forty days, during which he sleeps on the ground, he fasts, he gives alms......Thus in the twenty-four hours his rule is to eat once and sleep three hours." (*Storia*, II. 332).

His dress.

Manucci says, "His clothes are very plain, and he wears few ornaments—nothing but a small plume or aigrette in the middle of his turban and a large precious stone in front. He wears no strings of

6. *Spirit of Islam*, 207.
7. *Farhat-un-Nazirin*.

pearls......His coats are always made of a very moderately-priced material, for each *Qaba* (gown) does not exceed ten rupees in cost." (II. 342).

His character.

Aurangzeb's name has been subjected to such persistent censure and condemnation that in the words of a critic he "accumulated on his head more crime than any prince who sat on an Asiatic throne." His bill of indictment is so long and the charges against him are so many that one is overwhelmed by his iniquities. Imaginative artists have painted him as a Mephistopheles—scoffing, heartless and crafty. In sinister subtlety and specious hypocrisy he is supposed to have no rival. According to his detractors he was of a suspicious, intriguing and deceitful disposition without any of those qualities that make a man loveable. This view is challenged by his admirers who regard him with extreme reverence and point to his personality as a perfect pattern of excellence. Aurangzeb is, thus, one of those historical figures who have excited unbounded admiration and excessive hatred to an amazing degree. The intenseness of feeling is in consonance with the two opposite views regarding Aurangzeb's political activities. The Emperor's personal character, however, is, in our opinion, unassailable and has been singularly free from any blemish.

From the time when Aurangzeb reached the age of discretion, he exhibited a keenness of intellect and a precociousnsss that presaged the attainment of a high destiny. From the very beginning he shaped his conduct in a manner that attracted attention. Shah Jahan's Court was full of nobles who were highly critical of the capabilities of the royal scions; and it is on record that the nobles held Aurangzeb in much higher estimation than his brothers. "When I was a Prince," writes Aurangzeb, "I used to treat the nobles in such a way that all were pleased and whether present or absent praised me much. Nay, notwithstanding the merit and

dignity of the unfriendly brother (*i. e.*, Dara) some of them deserted him and entered my service. I closed my eyes upon some of them, who, at the instigation of the unfriendly brother, practised unworthy actions and used abusive words. For the sake of justice they admitted my patience and endurance."[8]

His letters.

Aurangzeb's character is mirrored in his letters. His whims and emotions, likes and dislikes, passion and prejudice, are reflected in the royal epistles. His writings indicate a natural sense of style and gracefulness. His minutes and memoranda, apart from indicating a remarkable power of condensation, are expressive of his characteristic virility. Packed with pointed quotations, his letters have a serene flow of unexceptionable diction, characterised by a distinction of phrase and thought. Apart from lending scholarly dignity to his writings, whenever Aurangzeb cites verses from the *Quran* he weaves a beautiful pattern of prose. His letters often read like a sermon, but series of thoughts are summarised in a few sentences. If he chooses to be ironical he becomes as incisive as a sharp sword. His words act like lancets of steel, yet he maintains a correctitude of phraseology that is above reproach. Aurangzeb's personality is unfolded in such varied phases in his letters and in such variegated light and shade that an intimate view of his life is greatly facilitated; and a closer and critical study is, I think, bound to soften the asperity of judgment which posterity has passed on him.

His courage.

One of Aurangzeb's striking characteristics was his courage, composure, and calm poise. He was never baffled by bewildering predicaments, and was never daunted at the worst moments. The calamities of campaigns or the suddenness of distressing events left him absolutely unruffled. He was as calm in the din of battle as he was in the Diwan-i-Am dictating royal orders.

8. *Letters of Aurangzeb*, p. 8.

Once during the campaign in Badakshan, while the battle was raging, he got down from his horse, spread his carpet, and was deeply absorbed in prayer. The adversary was so much impressed by the spectacle of cool courage that he did not wish to prolong the struggle with a man of such august determinatron.[9]

Perseverance.

Allied with the courage was his supreme perseverance. For more than two decades he was constantly in camp in the Deccan, but the inclemencies of weather and the lack of refined comforts did not detain him from his fixed purpose. While besieging a Maratha fort the Mughal army, including the Royal Camp, experienced dire distress and suffering owing to severe storm and torrential rain, yet Aurangzeb would not retrace his steps without achieving his objective. The sight of the aged Emperor more than eighty years old, personally conducting operations against inaccessible forts, riding on a grey charger, inspecting positions and issuing orders, while shots and arrows were falling thick and fast round him, cannot but excite admiration. Any one who fought an incessant fight continuously for more than a generation must show signs of extreme exhaustion and decaying determination. But Aurangzeb was not a weakling; he had an iron constitution and nerves of steel. Not by one pulsation was he ever deflected from his forceful resolve. Setbacks and disasters urged him on to greater efforts.

Regard for duty.

He worshipped Duty as if it was a deity in a pantheon. His offerings consisted of the day's work scrupulously performed. Duty never called him without immediate response. Wherever and whenever his presence was needed there the hour found him; the heat of summer, the cold of winter and the torrential rains did not deter him from his task.

9. M. A. 531.

Aurangzeb had a marvellous capacity for intensive hard work. From early dawn till midnight he remained busy; he had only a few hours' sleep. And yet in the midst of his multifarious duties he found leisure not only to study books but to copy out the *Qur'an*. The secret lay in the fact that he was uniformaly industrious and turned every minute to account.

Justice.

Aurangzeb hated tyranny and strenuously endeavoured to stop high-handedness. His door was always open to the aggrieved, and he listened to complaints with commendable patience. He was no respector of ranks where transgression of justice was concerned. He castigated his sons with as much severity as he did an ordinary official. He writes to Prince Azam :—

"In order to shew partiality to the most stupid Afazal, you have not dismissed the tyrant, Hasan Beg of Chakleh Kura. The inhabitants of this place lament constantly, strike their heads against the ground and say, 'if you will not give us justice, there is the day of judgment for our justice.' The last remedy is of branding, *i. e.*, this Chakleh will be deprived of your *jagir*, and you will have no recompense for that...... You should select God-fearing and virtuous men, look carefully into their character, and appoint them (in the places at present filled by the tyrants), so that both you and I will be free from responsibility on the day of judgment. Officers should not be the relatives and brothers of a minister and reporters should not be the sons of a *faujdar*."[10]

In another letter he writes, "Exalted son, the artillery and palace superintendent has been appointed (by you) the police officer of Nawah of Ahmedabad. He appoints his vulture-like (*i. e.*, bribe-receiving) relatives and friends to 'patelships.' The complainants against the power of the above-mentioned superintendent do not get admittance into

10. Bilimoria, *Letters of Aurangzeb*, pp. 164-165.

your court......I wonder what answer we shall give on the day of judgment."

" In the court of God the angels write down the acts of oppression in the account of the governor appointed (by me) ......(verse) Fear the sighs of the oppressed ; because at the time of their prayer, acceptance comes to receive it from the court of God *i. e.*, the prayer of the oppressed is heard and accepted by God."[11]

Aurangzeb does not indulge in merely repeating copy-book formulæ; there is a ring of religious sincerity in his utterances. Being gravely conscious of his high responsibilities he is always at pains to infuse a passionate regard for justice among his subordinates, There is a feeling of other-worldliness in his letters. He appeals to the inner soul of the man, to spiritual obligations that transcend secular duties He repeatedly reminds his sons of the day of judgment when everyone will have to render an account of his actions. " Exalted son," he writes to Prince Azam," " notwithstanding your good intention, why are you indifferent to the actions (*i. e.*, tyranny) of oppressors and to the infliction of punishment on those misled people (tyrants) ? ...,.....Alas! alas! Time passes away like a sword (*i. e.*, swiftly) ; and the reproach of the people of the world and the fear of the Glorious and High God are removed from the heart......I say plainly that on the day of judgment we shall have to give an account of our actions before God for shewing favour to and connivance at the actions of corrupt officers......You should send to the province reliable and cautious reporters, and send me daily reports of the results of the orders (issued by you).[12]

In a letter to Asad Khan, the Prime Minister, he asks him to write the following to Khan Jahan Bahadur : " The

11. Ibid, pp. 29-30; 66-67.

12. Ibid, 40-41.

horse merchants and others are complaining. This is a true tradition that 'oppression will cause darkness on the day of judgment.' Why did you not remember this tradition. Why did you forget death which is near your artery (*i. e.*, which is approaching you)? Fear the wrath of God and the punishment of the emperor (*i. e.*, Aurangzeb)."[13]

"This monarch," writes Manucci, "is also desirous of appearing a great lover of justice. This is why he said one day that it was the bounden duty of kings to apply themselves unweariedly and painstakingly to the dispensing of equal justice to everybody. For, as he said, this duty and that we owe to God for having devoted us to His sole service are the two principal grounds of action on which should rest the conduct of princes."[14]

Mild or severe.

Historians have detected two opposite traits in Aurangzeb's character, namely extra-mildness and extreme relentlessness. According to an eminent authority, Aurangzeb, like the English Puritans "drew his inspiration from the old law of relentless punishment and vengeance and forgot that mercy is an attribute of the Supreme Judge of the Universe."[15] Khafi Khan holds a contrary view and epitomises his opinion by citing the incident of the old woman who complained to Aurangzeb against the *faujdar* who had forcibly taken her money. The Emperor ordered the officer concerned to pay back the money. After a time the old woman again appeared and submitted a petition that the *faujdar* instead of paying back her money was greatly oppressing her. An admonitory letter was then sent to the officer. The old woman, however, returned again and complained that the *faujdar* had not paid any heed to the royal orders. Aurangzeb is alleged to have told her that she

13. Ibid, 91.
14. *Storia*. III. 260-261.
15. Sir J. N. Sirkar, *Anecdotes*, 30.

should pray to God to send another Emperor. Khafi Khan, commenting on this, remarks that it did not occur to Aurangzeb to punish one or two oppressive *faujdars.* [16]

Khafi Khan's opinion is traversed by Aurangzeb's letters. He writes to Prince Azam, " Through the representations of the spies I have come to know that the royal road between Bahadurpur and Khujasteh-buniad (*i. e.* Aurangabad) is not free from danger. Highwaymen rob the merchants and travellers of their goods. Wayfarers cannot travel in security.........It seems that the reporters do not furnish you with true accounts ......You should appoint new reporters and give them warning and punish the former ones. Prepare an army to extirpate these ruffians and to free the royal road from the machinations of these loafers. How long will you allow this shameful mismanagement to go on?"

In another letter he says, " An army should be sent to punish the turbulent 'Kazal-bashan'......This sinner (*i. e.*, Aurangzeb) wishes that no crime, especially oppression, should be perpetrated, the result will be that there will be order and peace in the kingdom. Kingship is not maintained without discipline."[17]

Complaining against the oppression of the Mughal officers, Manucci says that the latter bribe the official reporters and secret intelligencers, so that the King may never hear, " although if His Majesty knew of it he would not only forbid such injury to his subjects, but, in spite of his age, having still a hand firm and steady enough to hold the scales of justice, he would punish with the necessary severity such plunderers." (IV. 439).

In spite of his kingly majesty Aurangzeb was studiedly modest. He was absolutely free from pride and vanity. His soft

16. K. K. II. 550.

17. *Letters of Aurangzeb*, 26-27; 130-131.

and carefully modulated tone often led people astray. Manucci has correctly summed up this aspect of his character. "He (*i.e.*, Aurangzeb) assumes always great humility in his attitude. Of this fact here is one example. For instance, if he sends orders to an officer at a distance in regard to any complaint that has been made of his conduct, and then learns that the said order has passed unheeded and submission to it has been refused, he betrays no wrath at such insubordination. All he says is (and that in the softest voice) that he is only a miserable sinner, that there is no reason for astonishment if his orders are disregarded, since every day those of God himself are neglected and repudiated. He does not forget, however, to repeat his orders, and adopt very exact means of getting them executed."[18]

Aurangzeb was both mild and severe as occasion demanded. He was not a slave of passing whims; his actions were dictated by exigencies of circumstances. His attitude is summed up in the advice that he tendered to Prince Muazzam: "An Emperor," he says, "ought to stand midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scares away hearts."[19]

Kindness to his officers.

Aurangzeb was kind and considerate to his officers, and always expressed solicitude for the heirs of deceased nobles. He frequently enjoined his sons to respect old and experienced officers and not to dismiss servants at slight faults. He made enquiries if anyone resigned from service.

"Exalted son, the bones of Shuja'at Khan are not yet rotten (*i.e.*, he died only a short while ago). The rights of

18. *Storia*, III. 260.
19. *Anecdotes*, 58.

Shuja'at Khan's service should not be overlooked. He has two survivors, two sons-in-law and one adopted son. Why have you dismissed these heirs of Shuja'at Khan for (their) slight offence?"

"Exalted son, why did the sons of Shamsher Khan resign? There must be some cause for their resignation. To dismiss old servants for a slight offence and to appoint new ones is totally useless."

"Mir Jalaluddin, who has resigned the service of Prince Azam, is evidently the nephew of Himmat Khan who was my Paymaster. The Mir is a born Saiyad of noble parentage and of a good disposition. You should enquire into the cause of his resignation."

"Khajeh Abdur Rahim died. He was religious and pious and was very brave.........You should write to me about the condition of his sons or tell Inayet Allah Khan to write to me so that each may be favoured according to his merit."[20]

Aurangzeb's kindness of heart is indicated by the fact that when during an illness physicians advised Firuz Jang, a famous General and father of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, not to take grapes, the Emperor himself left off taking the luscious fruit. In a characteristic letter, reminiscent of personal intimacy and affection he writes, "(My) sincere Khan Firuz Jang, I desired to come myself to see this loyal friend; but with what face and how can I see you? Consequently, I have sent Sa'adat Khan on my own behalf to see my eye (*i.e.*, my dear Khan) and to represent to you what is concealed in my heart. Grapes are the only new fruits obtainable here. But the Greek physicians consider them injurious for the health of the noble, sincere, and learned Khan. Therefore I myself do not take grapes. If the Holy God wishes we will eat grapes

20. Letters, 36, 66, 131, 166.

together after the immediate recovery of your health. (verse) "O God! how pleasant is this my desire (of getting recovery)! May Thou fulfil this desire." (*Ibid*).

In a letter suggestive of royal favour and friendship he invites Asad Khan, the Prime Minister to visit his garden: "To-morrow you should go to (my special) garden and enjoy the pleasure of the 'guldasteh' (a beautiful structure, in the middle of the garden). The guards of the garden, consisting of the followers and other persons who will accompany you (for shewing you the garden) will try their best to please and satisfy you to the utmost. (Couplet) "When you become his (*i.e.*, when you be a faithful servant of your master), all the property (of your master) becomes yours." (*Ibid*).

The sentiments expressed in the above two letters are indicative of Aurangzeb's gentleness and sincerity. Here we see him not as a Mughal Emperor, but as a man of feeling full of goodness and kind thoughts.

Was he distrustful?

It has been said about Aurangzeb that 'his cold intellectuality, his suspicious nature, and his fame for profound statecraft, chilled the love of all who came near him. Sons, daughters, Generals, and Ministers, all feared him with a secret but deep-rooted fear, which neither respect nor flattery could disguise."[21]

It is an essential condition of a polity based on autocracy that the sovereign should keep himself well-informed about men and matters. The Mughal Emperors had a greater need for caution and correct intelligence as the refraction of sons and grandsons from a dutiful course had become a family trait. In the case of Aurangzeb all his sons had attempted to form an alliance with the enemies at war. Their designs were discovered in time. The secret negotiations of

21. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, 30.

Prince Azam with the Rana of Udaipur did not, however, come to light. In chapter IX we have related how the Prince entered into a secret treaty behind the back of the Emperor. Apart from the Princes, the nobles also did not hesitate to barter away their loyalty for scanty considerations. Aurangzeb had good and ample reasons to be vigilant and cautious. He knew and always cared to know what each officer said and did. Not only did he carefully read the secret reports of news-writers, but took action on them. He often confounded his nobles by his intimate knowledge of them and baffled them by his actions. Princes and nobles were undoubtedly possessed of a feeling that they had to reckon with a man of keener and stronger intellect who could outwit them at any moment. They felt the cold stare of the Emperor's gaze even from a distance. But the terror was for the delinquents and the evil-doers. Those who treaded the straight path of duty had nothing to fear ; they were gratified with rewards and presents.

Aurangzeb's mastery of the details of administration was remarkable. He could pass orders on complicated fiscal problems without the help of his *Divan*. He kept watch over every department and issued incessant orders. He did this not to deprive officers of their power of initiative, but to introduce reforms, facilitate quick despatch of work, and to let the subordinates know that he kept them under careful supervision. He appreciated the services of honest and scrupulous men, and severely discouraged backbiting. After hearing the news of the death of Mukhlis Khan, who was *Tan Bakhshi* (Paymaster) he writes, "I was pleased with his noble and virtuous qualities and his versatile genius. May God be pleased with him.........A person indirectly complained before me, "This man (*i.e.*, Mukhlis Khan) does not consider any other man better than himself." I replied, "He does not find any other man better than himself.""

Aurangzeb's relation with his officers were perfectly normal, except that he adopted a line of strictest supervision. He did not encourage those intimacies which Akbar and Jahangir had with some chosen peers of the realm ; and the reason can be found in the fact that he discouraged adulation unlike Akbar, and had no drinking associates like Jahangir. He kept every man at his proper place and would on no account allow any one to transgress the limits assigned to his position. There is no doubt that there was an extra element of frigidity in his constitution ; he was always dignified and at times severely grave. He had not an exuberant temper. He had not the capacity to relax into that cheerful mood that for a time shakes off the burden of sovereignty and fills the world with infectious joyfulness.

Resentment of Hindus.

He was too rigid in his methods, and sometimes displayed a narrowness of vision that created and multiplied difficulties. He was too adamant in his attitude, and disdained to surrender to popular agitation, when political expediency demanded liberal treatment. However justified from the point of view of the Emperor, the fact cannot escape recognition that the Hindus nursed a feeling of resentment against some of his actions. Yet in one of his letters he enunciates sound principles of administration and toleration. "What connection," says he, "have earthly affairs with religion? and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine."[22] If some of Aurangzeb's actions are, however, evincive of a declension of spirit from his own precepts and resolutions the causes are to be sought in the tumultive reactions against the indiscretions of Akbar and Dara. Aurangzeb became the spear-head of the reaction which was also sometime responsible for the narrower interpretations of the Holy Law.

22. *Anecdotes*, 99.

In an earlier chapter we have indicated the generous treatment meted out to the subject races (*zimmis*)—a treatment legally based on the liberal exegisis of the *Qur'an.* If the ecclesiastics in India, however, deviated from established precedents obtaining in other Islamic countries the underlying causes were political rather than religious. The 'strict adherence' to Muslim Law postulates fair and equitable treatment; it was only the digression from the straight course that led to narrowness of vision and uncharitable conduct. In the case of Aurangzeb it will not be unjust to assume that in one or two instances he cannot lay claim to 'strict adherence' to the Law.

His combative individualism.

Aurangzeb's combative individualism, and his faulty sense of proportion proved an obstacle to his success. Had he been able to subordinate to his noble virtues of unsparing self-sacrifice, of a religious devotion to duty and of a high regard for justice the rash impulses that created ill-feeling and resentment, he would have been hailed as the greatest statesman of his times. But he sometimes allowed his own personal outlook to intrude upon the exigencies of politics; and his decisions were relentless.

A reformer.

Aurangzeb's claim to reverence and popularity among his co-religionists lies in the fact that he alone among his contemporaries noticed the disruptive elements that had lodged in the Muslim society and sensed the danger that lay ahead. He felt agitated at Islam being made the sport of royal whims and fancies, at the debasement of its high ideals, at the aberrations of its nominal votaries who did not blush to call themselves Muslims, at some of the vicious habits of the commonalty, and the intemperence and slothful ease of the nobility, at the specious hypocrisy of *faqirs* and *darveshes*, at the worship of tombs, and at

personal adornments that led to effeminacy. Amidst the din and turmoil of the strenuous times Aurangzeb's efforts to reform the society have not received careful attention. He had particularly set upon himself the task of rejuvenating the Muslims, and with that end he prohibited not only gambling and drinking but also prescribed the length of a man's coat, forbade the use of tight trousers by ladies, disallowed women to congregate during the anniversaries of saints, and appointed teachers and preachers to wean the people from vicious habits. He strongly denounced the sharp practices of the *darveshes* whose consciences were enveloped in a leather casing of hypocrisy and who led people astray. Writing about a man who called himself a *darvesh*, Aurangzeb says, "Such people are not men but only figure-heads. They fill their bellies and are men of possession. They are ignorant and abject persons, of a defective temper and utter false words. Where is faith, and where is (true) Islam?" (*Letters*, 140).

Aurangzeb attempted to restore Islam to its pristine purity and to lead his people along the path of goodness and virtue. His outward manners created the legend of a man, unimaginative, unbending and aloof. But Aurangzeb was at heart a missionary; and the emotional side of his nature derived rich sustenance from the romance of conquering new lands for Islam. He sincerely believed that he had been selected by God to extirpate heresy, to rejuvenate the Muslims and to give them strength and solidarity. We see him in the Red Fort at Delhi, in the quietness of the Private Audience Hall discussing with the learned men of the day measures for uprooting evil and immorality. We see him in the arid deserts of Rajputana, in the inaccessible defiles of Maharashtara mountains writing orders with his own hand penalising a tyrant at Dacca, and punishing an oppressor in Kashmir. We see him at the end of the longest day in the saddle in the Deccan, reconnoitering under heavy fire and then returning to

his camp to read dispatches, to dictate letters to his inefficient nobles, to compose their quarrels, to resolve their jealousies, to admonish Governors, to hear petitions, and when the day's work is done to bow down in silent supplication before the Great Almighty.

Some European opinion.

Bernier who was in India during the early parts of Aurangzeb's reign admits "that this Prince (*i.e.*, Aurangzeb) is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King." (*Travels*, 199).

Hamilton who visited India about the end of the 17th century, says, "He (Aurangzeb) was a Prince in every way qualified for governing. None ever understood politics better than he. The balance of distributive justice he held in exact equilibrium. He was brave and cunning in war, and merciful and magnanimous in peace, temperate in his diet and recreations, and modest and grave in his apparel, courteous in his behaviour to his subjects and affable in his discourse. He encouraged the laws of humanity and observed them as well as those of religion." (II. 103).

Writing in 1701, Manucci says, "The great age of the Emperor......and the ambition to gain the throne continuously displayed by his sons and grandsons, give rise to the apprehension of some catastrophe quite as tragic as that supervening at the close of Shahjahan's reign. In spite of this, the ablest politicians......assert that all will be peaceful so long as the aged monarch is still in this world. In saying this they rely on the admirable conduct and the good government of this prince, who in spite of his great age and the infirmities inseparable from it, knows how to get himself always obeyed with his former vigour, and to hold every man to his alle giance." (III. 249-50).

"The condition of the Moghul Empire," writes Orme, "began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurangzeb, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan."[23]

Aurangzeb's massive intellect, his physical energy, his cool courage and indomitable determination, his abstemiousness and modesty, his learning and piety, the tenacity of his purpose and the sublimity of his patience excite our marvel and admiration. Though the echoes of old triumphs and failures have long faded away, and a new world has come into existence, the memory of Aurangzeb is still enshrined in the hearts of Muslims and he is assured of immortality as a great man.[24]

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23. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745* by R. Orme.

24. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has thus summed up the popular feeling about Aurangzeb in beautiful verse in his famous *Masnavi—Israr-i-Khudi.*

شاہ عالمگیر گردون آستان　　اعتبار دودمان گورگان

پایۂ اسلامیان برتر ازو　　احترام شرع پیغمبر ازو

درمیان کارزار کفرو دین　　ترکش مارا خدنگ آخرین

تخم الحادے کہ اکبر پرورید　　باز اندر فطرت دارا دمید

شمع دل درسینہ ہاروشن بنود　　ملت ماز فساد ایمن بنود

حق گزید از ہند عالمگیر را　　آن فقیر صاحب شمشیر را

ازپئے احیائے دین مامور کرد　　بہر تجدید یقین مامور کرد

برق تیغش خرمن الحاد سوخت　　شمع دین درمحفل مابرفروخت

کورذوقان داستانہا ساختند　　وسعت ادراک اونشنا ختند

شعلۂ توحیدرا پروانہ بود　　چون براہیم اندرین بتخانہ بود

درصف شاہنشہان یکتاستے　　فقر او از تربتش پیداستے

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION.

Reaction against Akbar's policy.

The germs of the reaction that set in during the second half of the seventeenth century lay embedded in the intolerant attitude exhibited by Akbar *vis-a-vis* the Muslims. In Chapter I we have detailed the manifestations of the unwise policy and advanced the conclusion that Akbar had become an apostate from Islam. Two facts may be supplemented here which strengthen the conclusion. Akbar not only abolished the *kalima*, the formula of Muslim faith, from his coins, but added the word *alif* (الف) to the legend, when he struck new ones, meaning thereby that Islam had been superseded by Akbar's new faith[1]. The Emperor had also the portrait of Ram and Sitaji stamped on some of the coins[2]. This innovation has to be considered in juxtaposition with the abolition of the *kalima*.

The discreditable means which Akbar adopted to gain possession of the fort of Asirgarh has been detailed by Mr. Vincent Smith, indicating the Emperor's sordid conduct. After the capitulation, however, when seven Portugese officers were brought before him, he was angry because they admitted that they had become Muslims. He declared them worthy of death, inasmuch as being Christians by birth they had apostatised and embraced the false religion of Islam. He would have executed them, but, on the request of the Jesuit Father, they were handed over to him who baptized more than seventy persons[3]. Not content with the exhibition of bad temper and base treachery he ordered the chief mosque at Asirgarh to be destroyed and replaced by an idol temple[4].

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1. See Badaoni; and *Ain-i-Akbari*, edited by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, note to pp. 21—22 of the text where the point is discussed.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Akbar*, 283.
4. Firishta, 567; *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, p. 185.

Akbar's toleration did not extend to the Muslims. He found pleasure in innovating acts of offensiveness against Islam. His apostacy occasioned risings and rebellions, but he suppressed them with an iron hand. The intensity of Muslim feeling can be judged from the fact that before Akbar had breathed his last breath, when succession to the throne was still doubtful, the Sayyids of Barha (in Muzaffarnagar) took a vow from Jahangir that he will do his utmost to defend Islam[5]. This fact is supported by Father Guerreiro, who says, " All men hoped much from the new King, and specially the Fathers, who believed that his accession would lead many to embrace the Christian faith. For up to that time he had been looked upon almost as a Christian. But these hopes were disappointed; for he had sworn an oath to the Moors to uphold the law of Mahamede, and being anxious at the commencement of his reign, to secure their good will, he gave orders for the cleansing of the mosques, restored the fasts and prayers of the Moors[6]."

During the reign of Shahjahan the old sore caused by the intolerance of Akbar began to show signs of suppuration owing to the dubious attitude of Dara Shukoh. The latter followed the same technique as was adopted by his great grandfather. Aurangzeb was hailed by the orthodox section of the Muslim community as a deliverer, because in their opinion Dara was bound to develope into a replica of Akbar. Aurangzeb should be regarded as the product of his environment; and some of the incidents of his reign should be studied not as isolated facts, but as links in the causation of events. Aurangzeb's reign is throughout dominated by a feeling of reaction against the indiscretions of Akbar and Dara.

5. Du Jarric, III. ch. XVI.

6. *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, edited by Sir Denison Ross, The Broadway Travellers, p. 3.

Post-factum wisdom.

Critics have contrasted the successful reign of Akbar with the failures of Aurangzeb resulting in the subsequent downfall of the Mughal Empire. But it is easy to indulge in a *post-factum* wisdom, and to shut our eyes to a succession of *roi faineant* who failed to keep the empire intact. We shall not trespass into the regions of speculation by discussing the possibility of a long line of strong rulers succeeding Aurangzeb. It is, however, proper to indicate that though some of the actions of Akbar and Aurangzeb were similar in design, they proved diverse in effect owing to a change in circumstances and environment. The fall of the Empire can be traced to various causes which we shall presently seek to enumerate.

Rigid rules of morality inapplicable.

It was the dread of Dara's supremacy that mobilised public opinion in favour of Aurangzeb and condoned the supersession of Shahjahan. The latter act should not be judged by the rigid rules of morality as applied to individuals, because in a country where succession is disputed by all the sons of the deceased monarch, each of them is reduced to "the cruel alternative of sacrificing his brothers, that he himself, may reign, or of suffering his own life to be forfeited for the security and stability of the dominion of another[7]." Self-preservation is the first instinct of life, and history is full of incidents where filial considerations were spurned for the sake of mundane motives[8].

Treatment of the Hindus.

It has been indicated in the initial chapter that Akbar not only destroyed mosques, but also forbade the construction of new ones. The adoption of the same attitude by Aurangzeb *vis-a-vis* the temples is a reminder of the universal

7. Bernier, 199.

8. The history of Rajputana in the 17th century is illustrative of the point.

law that reaction is in proportion to action. Though the early Khalifs had treated the non-Muslims with great liberality and consideration the later ecclesiastics had veered to a narrower view, and the construction of new temples were forbidden, though older ones were allowed to exist. Any departure, therefore, from the principle enunciated above manifestly transgressed the spirit of Islam. I maintain that many new temples were destroyed by Shahjahan and Aurangzeb on the clear ground that they were constructed in defiance and inspite of the knowledge of the law. The destruction of old temples, if any, was assuredly without justification, though risings and rebellions provided an easy excuse for swift retaliation.

In Chapter VI, dealing with discriminative regulations, it was pointed out that Aurangzeb's order prohibiting the use of palanquin and thoroughbred horses by Hindus, excepting the Rajputs, has been wrongly interpreted. It will be found that owing to exigencies of war no one was allowed to approach the royal tent riding on a palanquin. In the period under review, in some parts of India, not under the Mughal rule, people were, however, not allowed to ride horses. "The country of Canara is generally governed by a lady, who keeps her court at a town called Baydour (Bednour, now known as Nagar). No man is permitted in this country to ride on horses, mules or elephants, but officers of state or troopers, tho' we are allowed to ride on oxen or buffaloes." (Hamilton, I. 158).

In Chapter VII we have controverted the theory commonly held that Aurangzeb brought pressure on the Hindus for their forcible conversion to Islam. There is no doubt that in one instance he ordered the converts to be taken round the city to the accompaniment of music, seated on an elephant[9]. But this was a practice prevailing from old times.

9. Ante, p. 181.

There was 'a young gentile, the son of a great Captain' who had for certain reasons been circumcised. One evening, when he was in the royal presence, Jahangir referred to this circumstance, and said that he was no longer a gentile and that he ought to take another law. This he at first declined to do, but the Emperor insisted, and finally said, "If you wish to become a Moor, here are the Mullas, who will teach you their law. Or if you would rather become a Christian I will send for the Fathers, who will baptise you." Finding himself forced to make a choice, "he elected to take the law of the Moors, which he did, and was paraded through the city on an elephant with great state, and amid much rejoicing."[10]

The list of *mansabdars* from 'five thousand' to 'five hundred,' as given below, will indicate that while in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir there were approximately seven Muslims as against one Hindu in service, and under Shahjahan five Muslims against one Hindu, during the reign of Aurangzeb, the number of Muslims had decreased to four only.[11]

	Akbar	Jahangir	Shahjahan	Aurangzeb
Hindus ...	32	56	110	104
Muslims ...	215	383	453	435
Total ...	247	439	563	539

For the sake of comparison, the number of Englishmen and Indians employed in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1911 before the Indianisation of superior services is indicated in the following chart:

	British	Indian
District Magistrates	43	5
District Superintendents of Police ...	47	1

10. *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 15.

11. For details see Chapter VIII.

That Aurangzeb freely employed Hindus in his service is borne out by Hamilton's testimony. Says he, "The religion of Bengal by law established, is Mahometan, yet for one Mahometan there are above an hundred pagans, *and the publick offices and posts of trust are filled promiscuously with men of both persuasions.*" [12]

Barring a few cases of bigotry and fanaticism, vengeance and individual incendiarism, the relation between the Hindus and Muslims was generally marked by good will and mutual toleration. Inspite of the jarring elements of political dissension and strife and inspite of the corrosive influence of religious antagonism. if we study the prevailing conditions with fairness and impartiality we will find that the matrimonial alliances of the royal family, social equality, the uniformity of law and usage and the division of posts and powers among the nobles of both the communities, were dominant factors which were conducive to the growth of common language culture and interest.

Muslims freely joined in Hindu festivals and took active part in the celebrations.

"On the festival of Holi," writes Bhimsen, "Bahadur Khan (Khan Jahan Bahadur Kotaltash) every day went to the houses of Raja Subhan Singh, Rai Singh Rathor, Raja Anup Singh and Mohkam Singh Chandrawat and watched the celebrations: and Mir Ahsan and Mir Mohsin, sons of the Khan, were more forward than the Rajputs themselves." The same authority further says, "Mahabat Khan had the entire confidence of the Rajputs, the Shaikhs and the Afghans. He had a contingent of one thousand Rajputs with him in the Deccan, and he preferred the Hindus and the Rajputs to other imperial officers." [13]

12. Hamilton, II p. 14.
13. *Dilkusha*, 64.

Aurangzeb's own attitude is reflected in the fact that during the festival of Dasahra he used to distribute robes of honour among his Hindu nobles. [14]

Though biassed historians have painted the picture of Mughal India in sombre hues, sometimes we come across the flash-light of searching observation that illumines the entire canvas. Commenting on Aurangzeb's rule, Hamilton writes, "The gentiles are better contented to live under the Mogul's laws than under pagan princes, for the Mogul taxes them gently, and every one knows what he must pay, but the pagan kings or princes tax at discretion, making their own avarice the standard of equity; besides there were formerly small Rajahs, that used, upon frivolous occasions, to pick quarrels with one another, and before they could be made friends again, their subjects were forced to open both their veins and purses to gratify ambition or folly." [15] "As regards security," writes another Englishman, "we trade in all parts of the Mogul's Dominions, who is one of the Greatest Princes in the world." [16]

Bijapur and Golkunda.

The conquest of Golkunda and Bijapur by Aurangzeb has been described by some historians as a great blunder, as the two Deccan States were sure to arrest the onward march of the Marathas. I have indicated in Chapters XII--XV how Sivaji, the ally of the Sultans, had sliced away a good portion of the Bijapur territory. There is no doubt that owing to chaotic conditions prevailing at Haidarabad and Bijapur in consequence of factious quarrels among the nobles, the two States would have quickly passed into Maratha hands. Instead of combining with the Mughals against the common enemy, the Deccani Sultans secretly[26] helped the Marathas, and thus forced Aurangzeb to be the instrument of their extinction.

14. *Alamgirnamah*, 914.

15. *A New Account of the East Indies*, II. 14.

16. Dr. Khan *East India Trade in the 17th Century*, p. 213.

17. *English Records on Sivaji*, part I. p. 287.

The Rajputs.

It is commonly held that, by his bigotry and narrow-mindedness, Aurangzeb had so much alienated the Rajputs, the sole prop of the Mughals, that not only did they refuse to bear arms in his cause in his life-time, but during the subsequent reigns also they stood aloof and disdained to rally to the Empire when it was fast disintigrating.

The treatment meted out to Jawant's sons is often quoted, and it is asserted that throughout his whole life, Aurangzeb was never betrayed into one generous action and never showed his royal favour towards the Hindus. Against one instance in which Aurangzeb refused to grant the Raj to the alleged heirs of a Hindu Raja, the following cases are cited to show how he was ever anxious to meet the wishes of the Rajas and to protect them from the encroaching hands of their brother princes :

"When Raja Bhagwant Singh Bundela died there remained no one of the family of Raja Shujan Singh or Indar Singh to succeed him ; Rani Amir Kunwar, grandmother of the deceased, then placed Raja Udit Singh on the throne. The latter was descended from Madhokar Sah, father of Raja Bir Singh Deo. The Emperor approved the action of the Rani." "Jagat Singh, son of Mukund Singh Hadah, an *Amir* of 2,000 died. As he had no son his country was given to his cousin Kishor Singh." 'At this time,' writes Ishwar Das, "Reports were received from Gwalior that Gopal Singh, grandson of Pahar Singh, collecting men raided the fort of Inderkhi, the zamindari of which was granted to Bakhtawar Bhadoria. The rebels took hold of the fort and Bakhtawar, leaving his land and property, went to Gwalior. But Safdar Khan, the *faujdar* did not go out to his rescue. His Majesty, therefore, decreased the *mansab* of the Khan, and ordered other officers to drive away the insurgents and deliver the fort to Bakhtawar." "The country of Jamnagar was close

to Cutch, and the Zamindars of the two places were vassals of the State. Narmal, the Raja of Jamnagar, died, and Satarsal, his son, succeeded to the Raj. Ain Singh, the brother of Narmal, with the help of the Raja of Cutch, coming to Jamnagar imprisoned Satarsal and raised the standard of rebellion. *Firman* was sent to Qutub-ud-din Khan that he should punish the rebels and put Satarsal in possession of his hereditary state."

Describing the dissensions between different clans of Rajputs, the same author records, "Between Saikhawat and Chauhan Rajputs a quarrel existed over the Zamindari. The two clans, congregating their men, tried their strength, but neither of them could overcome the other rival. The Chauhans then asked the support of the Raja of the Jats, whereupon, on the request of the Saikhawats, Sipahdar Khan, the *faujdar* of Mewat, hastened to their succour." The help given by the Mughal officers to a Rajputs clan was responsible for the rebellion of the Jats. (*Futuhat*, 118, 134, 136.)

The above instances are a few out of many demonstrating the readiness of the Central Government to suppress disorders and to do justice to the aggrevied. They indicate Aurangzeb's anxiety to meet the wishes of the Hindu Chiefs in matters of succession and to safeguard their rights against their own people and kinsmen. When we shall pause to consider the comparative popularity of the Mughal administration, the domestic differences of the Hindu Rajas, their contention for power, their jealousies and ambitions would, in no small degree, be found to be responsible for the acceptance of the Mughal rule. This was as true in the time of Aurangzeb, as during Akbar's reign. There were many Hindu princes who owed, not their ruin, but their very existence to Aurangzeb's Government.

From the contemporary records it is abundantly proved that almost every State in Rajputana had its contingent

of Rajputs fighting in the Deccan alongside of Aurangzeb's army.

Describing an incident in the Deccan where Aurangzeb's camp was saved by the timely appearance of a Rajput prince, Manucci says, "In the preceding books it will, no doubt, have been remarked how much persecution and ill treatment Aurangzeb had dealt out to a son of Rajah Jaswant Singh. Inspite thereof these (Jaswant Singh's family) have never resented this conduct, on the contrary, they have always served him when the occasion presented itself, as has just been proved once more by the event I reported above." (III. 305.)

By the treaty concluded with the Maharana of Udaipur in 1681 the latter was under obligation to supply a contingent of 1000 Rajputs for service in the Deccan.[17] After the termination of the war in Rajputana, Bhim Singh, the son of Rana Raj Singh detached himself from his brother Rana Jai Singh, and joined the Mughal army. He did excellent work in the Deccan, rose to the rank of 5,000 horse, and having been granted *jagirs* became the founder of Banera Raj. After the death of Bhim Singh in 1694, his sons Sujan Singh, Ajab Singh, Zorawar Singh and Bijay Singh all received suitable *mansabs* from the Emperor[18]. It will be tedious to recount the names of the Rajput princes fighting on the side of the Mughals. The fact is that inspite of their quarrel with Aurangzeb, the Rajputs had no wish to "non-co-operate" with the reigning house of Babar, as is evidenced by the secret treaty which Prince Azam concluded with the Maharana of Udaipur.[19] The head of the Rajputs promised to accord his full support to the Prince in the war of succession whenever that contingency arose. Prince Azam's ambitions were dashed to pieces in the battle-field of Jajau, but many

17. Ante, p. 238.

18. *Islamic Culture*, No. I, Vol. IX p. 67.

19. Ante, p. 233.

Rajputs fought on the side of Bahadur Shah the next Emperor after Aurangzeb.

Even before the death of Aurangzeb the Princes were secretly recruiting men for the ensuing struggle, and the Rajputs did not hesitate to flock to their standards. Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi and Bijai Singh Kachhwaha "who had taken refuge with Bahadur Shah at Kabul were conciliated, and through them there were enlisted a large number of Rajputs."[20]

Soon after his accession Bahadur Shah had to march to Rajputana to settle the affairs there. Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur sent a deputation to the Emperor headed by his brother Bakht Singh, and promised to be loyal and faithful to the monarch. Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, who had raised the banner of revolt, was presented to the Emperor with his hands tied together by a handkerchief; he made his obeisance, and offered one hundred gold coins and one thousand rupees. As Prince Kam Bakhsh was marching from the Deccan to contest the Mughal throne Bahadur Shah hastened to meet the danger. He took Ajit Singh and Jai Singh with him, but they took to flight and began to defy the Mughal authority. After the return of Bahadur Shah, however, the two Rajas made their submission and were allowed to return to their homes.

In the succeeding reigns Ajit Singh and Jai Singh come to the forefront and occupy prominent positions in the Mughal heirarchy. But by their treachery and base disloyalty they brought dishonour to the name of the Rajput. It was through Jai Singh's connivance and dereliction of duty that the Marathas first found foot-hold in Northern India. But retribution came swiftly in the shape of Maratha raids, as there was not a home in Rajputana that was not

20. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 19.

despoiled by the freebooters from the south. Writing about Jai Singh's character, Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "If the Emperor's cause had been served with the courage, enterprise, and fidelity of his illustrious grandfather Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, instead of Sawai Jai Singh's love of sensual ease, misappropriation of the imperial chest of military defence, and treacherous subserviency to the enemies of the country, the Marathas would have been successfully kept out of Northern India, and Rajputana would have been spared the horrors of Maratha domination.[21]

The Rajput princes repeatedly sought the help of the Mughal Emperors to push the Marathas across the Narbada, but the central authority at Delhi was so enfeebled by factious quarrels that no genuine effort was made to meet the danger that threatened the Empire. Early in 1735, Khan-i-Dauran set out from Delhi to give battle to the Marathas. At Ajmere the Mughals were joined by Jai Singh of Jaipur, Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, and Rao Durjan Sal of Kota with their contingents. But the Marathas made a lightning raid in Rajputana with the result that the grand attempt ended in failure.[22] In 1754 Maharaja Bakht Singh of Jodhpur "had planned to go to Delhi in company with the Jaipur Rajah and there concert measures with the imperial Government for keeping the Marathas confined to the Deccan, when he died of cholera. His son, Bijay Singh, was quite unable to cope with the Deccanis[23]." In 1755, however, Bijay Singh tried to build up a coalition with the Emperor, the Rajas of Jaipur and Bharatpur and the Ruhelas for driving the Marathas out of North India. He sent his agent to Delhi, and presented five lacs of rupees to the Emperor, begging him to take the field against the Marathas and promising to pay him Rs. 10,000 for each day of march. "The puppet

21. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I. 242.
22. *Ibid*, I. 253-254.
23. *Ibid*, II. 174.

Padishah and his feeble Wazir sent off letters summoning the vassal chiefs to the royal banner, and did nothing." [24]

The Mughal Emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, had held together and protected all the Fudatory States of India by their superior strength and astute diplomacy. After the death of Aurangzeb the Peacock Throne became devoid of strong rulers. None of the successors of Bahadur Shah had the capacity to check the internecine conflicts or resolve the mutual jealousies of the Feudatory States. War was the Rajput's proud profession; but in the chaotic conditions prevailing at Delhi no one could think of expanding the Empire with the result that Rajput manhood was deprived of employment. Their combative spirit needed an outlet, and they sharpened their swords on the collar bones of their kith and kin. At times they applied to the puppet Emperors for help But their cry for help was a cry in the wilderness. Circumstances gradually compelled the Rajputs to defend their own homes than to meddle in the Mughal politics. "The result, as we all know, was harmful to the Empire; but it was even more ruinous to the Rajputs themselves. The Rajputs, who had filled Indian history during the preceding three centuries, began in the 18th century to find themselves a played-out race, falling steadily to the back ground in Indian life[25]."

The Marathas.

In chapter XVIII we have discussed the net result of the war in the Deccan. It has been indicated that Aurangzeb did not for a single moment show any sign of exhaustion or dejection. He was so sure of his power and strength that several times he rejected the peace terms offered by the Marathas; and in the year 1702, he thought that he had completed the task for which he had set out. In a letter he

24. *Idid*, II. 182–183. Maulvi Zake-ul-lah Khan in his *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*. Vol. IX, p. 335, has wrongly put the above incident in the year 1787.

25. *Ibid*, I. 238.

says, " My sincere Nusrat Jang, (our) whole energy was devoted to the conquest of the Deccan which was the most important work. Thank God that we have accomplished the work." (*Letters*, 156). Apart from Aurangzeb's personal views, we have the benefit of an authoritative document issued in 1716 under Sambhaji's order. It was written in 1700, when Rajaram was alive, by Ramchandrapant Amatya who, according to its translator, " took part in the establishment of *Svarajya* under Sivaji, in its protection under Rajaram and Tarabai, and in the civil war between Tarabai and Shahu." Though we are told that Aurangzeb " got tired in his efforts, turned back and died ", the effect of Aurangzeb's invasion is indicated as follows "...The remaining parts of the country became desolate, and forts got exhausted of military provisions. Only the idea of the state remained........ Owing to the warfare the kingdom had fallen into a bad state. All the country and forts had been captured. The name alone of the kingdom had remained and that also was not confined to any limits. The people of the kingdom, the mainstay of the life of the state, having fallen into such adverse times, had suffered heavily under the pressure of several small troubles." (*A Royal Edict on the principles of State Policy and Organisation*, pp 5—8).

In view of the above quotation, Aurangzeb's belief that he had ' accomplished the work ' was not unjustified.

And the Sikhs.

The Sikhs and the Marathas later on succeeded in partitioning the Mughal Empire, but a student of history is bound to enquire whether these two people brought peace and prosperity to the country, whether as a warring nation they adhered to the simple laws of humanity, whether as rulers they can claim to be just and efficient and in any way superior to the Mughals, and whether they exerted any civilising influence in the period in which they rose to eminence. Barring the

fact that they broke the spell of Muslim domination, the Sikhs and the Marathas came and went like a devastating hurricane, leaving a legacy of bitterness which the passage of time has not completely obliterated. I think that owing to their intimate contact with the Muslims, their administrative ability and experience of state-craft, their ideal of upright conduct and chivalry, the Rajputs—had they been as successful as the Sikhs and the Marathas—would probably have left some abiding result of their supremacy. Their inborn sense of dignity would have revolted against those rapacious acts to which greater part of India was subjected during the dark and long stretch of the eighteenth century. A new power, however, appeared on the scene with disciplined battalions, ushering an era of unprecedented peace and security and integrating India into one great politlcal unit.

Fall of the Mughal Empire—its causes.

Nations as much as individuals have their infancy, adolescence and old age. The inscrutable laws of nature must work out their course, yet human intellect finds the task of tracing the causes that lead to a nation's fall extremely fascinating In enumerating the diverse causes that brought about the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, we shall assign the first and foremost place to the lack of a freely accepted rule of succession. The death of an Emperor was a signal for dynastic and popular commotion, violently deranging the ordinary routine of life. During the reigns of Akbar and his successors, down to Aurangzeb, sufficient time had elapsed between the accesssion and demise of the Emperors to enable them to consolidate their position and dissolve the alliances of hostile factions. But after Aurangzeb rulers rose and fell with such startling rapidity that everyone, from prince to peasant, lost his bearing and balance. Everyone strove only to collect the wreckage: no one seriously cared to save the

No accepted rule of succession.

sinking ship. Nobles formed and re-formed alliances for purely selfish ends; the puppet Emperors were too feeble to resist their nefarious activities. The disruption and disintegration caused by successive wars of succession shook the foundations of Mughal sovereignty and completely undermined the prestige of the ruling house.

Army not directly recruted.

Another serious defect in the Mughal Government was the defective system of recruiting the army. Nobles and *mansabdars*, who constituted the official class recruited men supplied horses and other equipments of war for which they received liberal pay according to grade. The State itself did not maintain any regular army, nor did it pay its soldiers direct, with the result that if a *mansabdar* deserted his rightful master the entire contingent supported by him obeyed his orders. High officers were, therefore, always a potential source of danger. During the feeble rule of Aurangzeb's successors the support of nobles was bought for considerations of reckless promises which the Emperors were never able to fulfil. The peers of the realm thus frequently changed sides with devastating consequences. The soldiers looked to their employers as their direct master; they were not moved by any common loyalty to the Emperor. Had the Mughal Soverigns maintained a strong army directly paid by them they would have kept the powerful nobles under strict control. many wars of succession would have been avoided, and they could have strongly resisted the onslaughts of their enemies.

Its immobility.

The Mughal army was too cumbrous a machine, and very slow in its movement. It was incapable to face the guerilla tactics of the Marathas. According to an eminent authority even Akbar would not have fared better against the light Maratha horse[27]. New dangers demanded new remedies, but the Mughals adhered

27. Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 268.

to the orthodox method of warfare with the result that they were outpaced by their adversaries.

No hereditary nobility.

A striking feature of the Mughal rule was the absence of hereditary Muslim nobility. Officers retained their power and distinction as long as they remained in service, but, once out of it, they lost their influence associated with the peerage. The system of escheating the property of the deceased nobles in lieu of loans advanced by the State often left their families in an indigent condition. The result was that the nobles led a life of extravagance, having no incentive to make a saving. Without any hereditary estate and without any patrimony their descendants either soon drifted into obscurity or they had to start life with a modest beginning. As long as the Mughal rule sustained its vigour the scions of noble familes had ample chances for a career. But with the disintegration of the Empire their means of livelihood was disastrously curtailed. Apart from the economic point of view, a hereditary nobility would have been politically a source of strength. Had the Mughals encouraged the colonisation of hereditary landed aristocracy in different parts of the country, the latter, in their own interest, would have resisted the partitioning of the Empire, as the existence of their order was bound with a strong central government. The absence of hereditary peerage greatly facilitated the declaration of independence by Governors who did not face even nominal opposition within the province itself; the *Subadars* awoke one morning and found themselves independent potentates.

Disloyalty of Mughal Officers.

The war in the Deccan was prolonged by the disloyalty and treasonable conduct of the Mughal officers. Neither princes nor grandees had any scruples in carrying on treacherous intercourse with the enemies of the State. Contemporary records are replete with the revolting details of deceit and

disloyalty. Manucci says that Aurangzeb's generals "make no genuine efforts, and therefore he is obliged to go in person if he wishes to carry out his designs[28];" "no one has the slightest hesitation in violating the fidelity he owes to the king[29]." Khafi Khan says, "The chief reason for the prolongation of the Deccan campaign was the mutual distrust and jealousy of the nobles.'[30]

Aurangzeb's prophetic remarks.

Aurangzeb had formed such a perfect estimate of his sons and nobles that the parting advice which he tendered to Prince Muazzam Bhadur Shah after releasing him from confinement was almost prophetic. He says, "*Although owing to my marching through wilderness and forests, my officers who love repose and feel disgusted with their own parents, long for the destruction of this my borrowed life,--yet after my death they will, owing to the thoughtlessness and ignorance of this son incapable of appreciating merit, demand for themselves that very thing* (viz., *death*) *which they are now praying for me.*"

"Anyhow, I advise you, out of a father's love, "Don't be so salt that (your subjects) would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down." But this advice is out of place here, as saltishness is not at all present in your nature, but is the share of your dear brother. The portion of saltlessness is the lot of you, my very sagacious son. May God keep both the brothers in perfect moderation! Amen, O Lord of the Universe!"[31]

Internal decadence.

There are two kinds of causes, internal and external, which are responsible for the fall of any nation. If people become internally decadent, then those external causes which did not appear very

28. *Storia*, IV. 115.
29. *Ibid*, III. 271.
30. K. K. II. 488.
31. *Anecdotes*, 61.

harmful in the beginning assert themselves with disastrous consequences. But as long as a nation is robust and strong, it is able to cope with outside forces. The rushing tide of Maratha onslaughts could not have threatened the security of the Empire had there been unity and co-ordination of efforts between Mughal officers. But the internal causes enumerated in the preceding paragraphs precipited the end of the Mughal supremacy. After the death of Aurangzeb the wars of succession and the accession of feeble and degenerate monarchs irretrievably weakened the power of the house of Babar.

Verdict of posterity.

The Mughals are no more. Their flag will not flutter again on the bastions of the Red Fort at Delhi, the Peacock Throne will never glitter in the majestic hall of the *Divan-i-Am*, and the voice of the Padishah will not be echoed from its ornate walls which now resound with the hilarity of thoughtless sight-seers. The world will see no more the pomp and pageantry, the splendour and magnificence of the mighty Mughals. But when posterity will pause to consider the civilising influence of their institutions, the uniformity of their laws, the renaissance of art and literature, and the economic self-sufficiency of the period, it will find that never before in India were such vigilant and systematic efforts made to protect the poor, to dispense equal justice, to encourage commerce and agriculture, to give peace and security, and to advance the general happiness of the people. The traces of the Mughal rule are revealed not only in the musty records of the past but also in the vocabularies of the present times. Our revenue and judicial departments teem with terminologies which remind us of the influence of the old system. But however reminiscent the traces may be, no one can wholly re-construct the variety and richness of the past. We strained our eyes to have a full view—and to present to the readers a complete picture—of the Mughal

ship—with its crew and captain—sailing majestically on the rolling waves of the sea. But we found the task beyond our efforts. "On the shore where Time casts up its stray wreckage, we gather corks and broken planks, whence much indeed may be argued and more guessed; but what the great ship was that has gone down into the deep that we shall never see."

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Haft Anjuman by Talahyar. His original name was Udai Rai but he became a convert to Islam. He was the Secretary of Maharaja Jai Singh. The book contains letters of Maharaja Jai Singh sent to Aurangzeb and other Officers.

Insha-i-Mulla Shah. Compiled in 1074 A. H. In the body of the text the name of Mulla Shah is nowhere found but on the margin of the manuscript the name of the book is noted. Mullah Shah was a preceptor of Dara Shukoh. At the end of the introduction, the name of the collector of the *Insha* is indicated as Jamai. No. 60, Abdus Salam Collection, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Insha-i-Farsi. Letters of Prince Akbar sent to Aurangzeb, in possession of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Intikhab-ul-Muntakhab by Abdul Shakoor. completed in 1107 A. H. A general history of the world till the reign of Aurangzeb. No. 87 Abdus Salam Collection, M. U. Aligarh.

Kalimat-i-Tayyabat. Letters of Aurangzeb collected by Inayat-ullah Khan. Several manuscripts of this work are available. In the copy owned by Muslim University, Aligarh the name of the book is given as *Kalimat-i-Tayyabat-i-Alamgir.* No. 92 Abdus Salam Collection.

Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh by Sujan Singh. In some of the manuscript the name is written as Subhan Rai. The book was completed in 1695 A. D.; it is an abridgment of well-known histories and ends with the accession of Aurangzeb. I have three manuscripts of this work.

Khutut-i-Shivaji. Sivaji's letters to his officers. This also contains the correspondence that passed between Aurangzeb and his rebellions son Prince Akbar.

Karnama by Jethmal (I. O. L.) describes the exploits of Ma'atabar Khan.

Lataif-ul-Akhbar by Rashid Khan, surnamed Badi-uz-zaman, describes in detail the siege of Qandhar.

Lub-ul-Tawarikh-i-Hind by Brindaban Das. The author's father was Divan of Dara Shukoh. It is a history of India from the conquest of Shahab-ud-din Ghori till the year 1101 A. H.

Letters of Aurangzeb. I. O. Persian manuscript No. 384.

Letters of Aurangzeb. I. O. No. 370.

Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri by Mustaid Khan Saqi. This was written after Aurangzeb's death, but is based on state papers. Bibliotheca Indica series.

Ma'asir-ul-Umara by Shah Nawaz Khan, contains biographies of the nobles of the Mughal Court. Bibliotheca Indica series.

Majma-ul-Bahrain by Dara Shukoh. This is a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. (Br. M. Add. 18404). It has been recently translated into English for Bibliotheca Indica Series.

Ma'asir-ul-Kiram by Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. Lithographed at Haidarabad.

Majma-ul-Afkar. A collection of letters and *firmans* in possession of Oriental Library, Patna.

Mansha'at-i-Tahir Wahid. A collection of letters that passed between the Shah of Persia and Sultans of Golkunda and Bijapur. Only a few letters are addressed to Aurangzeb. Lithographed at Lucknow.

Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badayuni is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznavides down to the fortieth year of Akbar's reign.

Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh by Jagjivan Das, (Br. M. Add. 26,253). The last chapter of the book is valuable giving details of provincial revenues.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi by Ali Muhammad Khan is a history of Gujarat written in 1748. The author was the Diwan of the province. He has given full copies of imperial *firmans* addressed to provincial authorities. This is a valuable work giving details of imperial regulations. (I. O. M. S. No. 444). A correct version of the text has been published by Professor Nawab Ali. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

Mirat-ul-Alam by Bakhtawar Khan, is a universal history with special reference to India. It describes Aurangzeb's manners and habits and gives details of revenues. (Br. Museum manuscript.)

Marasilat-i-Alamgir by Muhammad Hadi contains Aurangzeb's orders on petitions, as well as the correspondence that

passed between Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. No. 95. Abdus Salam Collection, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Mantakhab-ul-Lubab by Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. A well-known history of the Mughals from Babar to Muhammad Shah. Bibliotheca Indica Series.

Muraqqat-i-Hasan by Abdul Hasan, deals with affairs in Bengal and Orissa.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha by Bhim Sen is a useful book on the affairs in the Deccan. The author was in the employment of Dalpat Rao Bundela, and passed his life in the Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan. There are two manuscripts of the book, one in the India office Library and the other in British Museum. An abridged translation of this book has been published by J. Scott under the title of *Journal of a Bondelah Officer.*

Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri. No. 91. Abdus Salam Collection, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Risala-i-Haqnuma by Dara Shukoh (Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow.)

Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri. Letters of Aurangzeb manuscript No. $\frac{37}{7325}$ of *Nadwat-ul-Ulma*, Lucknow.

Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri. Letters of Aurangzeb. (No. 330 I. O. Library).

Raqaim-i-Karaim. Letters of Aurangzeb collected by Sayyid Ashraf Khan.

Rumuz wa Isharat-i-Alamgiri. A collection of unimportant letters.

Shahjahan Nama by Muhammad Tahir is a history of Shahjahan to the end of the thirtieth year of his reign. (I. O. L.)

Siyar-ul-Mutakharin by Sayyid Ghulam Husain. This has been translated by Colonel Briggs.

Sir-ul-Israr is the Persian translation of the Upanishad by Dara Shukoh. This book is also known as *Sir-i-Akbar*. I have used the British Museum manuscript.

Safinat-ul-Awliya by Dara Shukoh contains biographies of Muslim saints.

Sakinat-ul-Awliya by Dara Shukoh is a biographical sketch of Miyan Mir of Lahore.

Tarikh-i-Jahangiri. The autobiographical memoirs of Emperor Jahangir. (I. L. No. 306). It has been translated by Rogers and Beveridge.

Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai by Muhammad Masum, an old servant of Prince Shuja. It deals with Shuja's doings in Bengal and records hearsay stories about the war of succession.

Tazkira Salatin-i-Chughtai by Kamwar Khan is a history of the Mughal Emperors.

Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah II by Sayyid Nur-ullah, and written by the order of the Sultan, is not an impartial history.

Tawarikh-i-Haft Kursi is a history of Bijapur. The name of the author is not known.

Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi is a history of Golkundah (I. O. Library.)

Tarikh-i-Maratha written by a Hindu author, who has kept himself anonymous. It is alleged to be based on Marathi books (Nos. 405 and 407, I. O. L.)

Tazkirat-ul-Umra by Kewal Ram, contains names of Hindu and Muslim *mansabdars* during the reigns of Mughal Emperors, with short biographical accounts. (Br. M. Add. 16,703).

Tazkira Khusnavisan-i-Hind by Professor Hidayat Husain, deals with the caligraphists of India.

Tarikh-i-Punjab is a history of the Sikhs (I. O. No. 503).

Tanmiq-i-Shigraf by Lachmi Narain, deals with the affairs in the Deccan.

Tohfa-i-Shahjahani by Sudhari Lal.

Tarikh-i-Dakan by Khafi Khan, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Tazkira Ulmai Hind by Maulvi Rahman Ali.

Tarikh-i-Marahta. The name of the book is missing, but it is a history of the Marathas from their origin to the re-instalment of Baji Rao by General Wellesely (1803 A. D.) It is stated in the transcription that the work had been translated from Marathi originals (Br. M. Or. No. 192.)

Tarikh-i-Alamgiri by Ahmad Quli Safvi, the news-writer (*Waqayah Niqar*) of Bengal. (Muslim University, Aligarh)

Tarikh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qasim. Lithographed.

Waqiat-i-Alamgiri by Aqil Khan Razi, an adherent of Aurangzeb. This is also known as *Zafar-nama-i-Alamgiri.*

Zawabit-i-Alamgiri gives details of provincial reveuues anc other regulations. (Delhi manuscript No. 503 I. O. L.)

ARABIC

Hashya Alsharah Ibn Qasim Al-Ghazzi (Cairo).

Kitab-ul-Kharaj by Abu Yusuf.

URDU.

Umra-i-hunud—Said Ahmad Marahri.

Tarikh-i-Hind—Zaka-ullah Khan.

Alamgir—Maulana Shibli.

Makatib-i-Alamgiri—Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi.

Rasail—Maulana Shibli.

Asar-us-Sanadid—Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Tarikh-i-Bijapur—Maulvi Bashir-ud-din.

HINDI.

Vir Vinode—A history of Rajputana by Kaviraj Shymal Das. compiled by order of the Udaipur Darbar and then suppressed. It is a work of great historical value, as it is based on original sources and *firmans.* I have used the copy preserved in the Library of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.

MARATHA SOURCES.

Shiva Bharat—A peom in Sanskirit of 2262 stanzas by Parmananda, alleged to be a contemporary of Sivaji. It describes the exploits of the Maratha hero. Published by Mr S. M. Divekar with a Marathi translation by Mr. R. D. Desai.

Jedhe-Yanchi Shakavali or the Jedhe Chronology. This is a record of events with dates, covering the period 1618-1697 A. D., kept by Jedhes, Deshmukhs of Kari near Dhar, 30 miles South of Poona. The document was edited by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and published by the Bharat-Itihas-Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.

Marathyancha Itihasachin Sadhanen (Materials for the history of the Marathas) by V. K. Rajwade.

Shiva-Chhatrapati-Chen Charitra by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, written in 1694 by order of Raja Ram, translated into English by J. L. Mankar as *Life and Exploits of Shivaji.*

Shiva-Chhatrapati Chen Sapta-Prakaran-Atmak Charitra by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis.

91. *Kalmi Bakhar*, so-called because it contains 91 paragraphs.

ENGLISH.

A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan—Robert Orme.

Akbar—Vincent Smith.
Anecdotes of Aurangzeb – Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
A New Account of the East Indies—Alexander Hamilton.
A New Account of East India and Persia—Dr. Fryer.
Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian—McCrindle.
Ancient Indian Education—F. E. Keay.
A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organisation, otherwise called Ramchandrapant Amatya's Rajaviti, translated into English by S. V. Puntambekar.
Architecture at Bijapur—Fergusson.
Aurangzeb—S. Lane-Poole (Rulers of India Series.)
A Voyage to Surat in 1689—Ovington.
Benares, the Holy City—R. Sen.
Bombay, Gazetteer XXII and XXIII.
Caliphate—W. Muir.
Charles II—Arthur Bryant.
Commentary of Monserrate—Father Monserrate.
District Gazetteers of Benares and Dehra Dun.
Early History of India—Vincent Smith.
East India Trade in the 17th Century—Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.
Empire of the Great Mogal by De Laet, translated by Hoyland and Banerji.
English Records on Sivaji, published by Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona.
English Factories in India—Sir William Foster.
From Akbar to Aurangzeb –W. H. Moreland.
Factory Records (India office manuscript records.)
Fall of the Mughal Empire—Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
Fatimide Khalifate—Dr. De Lacy O'Leary.
Hindu Mythology—Wilkins.
History of Jahangir—Beni Parshad.
History of Mediaeval India—C. V. Vaidya.
Historical Fragments—Robert Orme.

History of the Deccan—Jonathan Scott.

History of Sivaji by Barthelemy Carre, translated by Dr. S. N. Sen in the Calcutta Review.

History of the Maratha People—Kincaid and Parasnis.

History of the Marathas—Grant Duff.

History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India—John Briggs.

Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics—S. H. Hodiwala.

History of Aurangzeb—Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

History of India as told by its own Historians—Elliot and Dowson (8 Vols.)

History of India—Elphinstone.

Indian Painting under the Mughals—Brown.

India Office Records, Original Correspondence (O. C.)

India at the death of Akbar—W. H. Moreland.

India by Al-Beruni, translated by Sachau.

Jahangir and the Jesuits, translated by C. H. Payne from the *Relations* of Father Fernao Guerreiro (Routledge and Sons, London.)

Journal of a Bondelah Officer—Jonathon Scott.

Later Mughals—W. Irvine.

Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government, 1902.

Letters of Aurangzeb—Bilimoria.

Life and Times of Ali Ibn Isa—Harold Bowen.

Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East, transcribed from the Original Correspondence series of the India Office records.

Life and Exploits of Shivaji—K. A. Sabhasad, translated by J. Mankar.

Mediaeval India—S. Lane-Poole.

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Mughal Rule in India—Edwards and Garratt.

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Orient under the Caliphs—S. Khuda Bakhsh.
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Rajasthan—Todd.
Renaissance of Islam by Metz, translated by S. Khuda Bakhsh in *Islamic Culture*.
Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India—Cunningham.
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Rise of the Maratha Power—Ranade.
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Short History of the Saracens—Amir Ali.
Sketch of the Sikhs—Malcolm.
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Source Book of Maratha History—Edited by H. G. Rawlinson.
Spirit of Islam—Amir Ali.
Storia Do Mogor by Manucci, (4 Vols.), translated by W. Irvine.
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The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated by Moreland as Jahangir's India.

Travels—Bernier.

Travels in India—Tavernier.

The Sikh Religion, its Gurus, Sacred writings and Authors (6 Vols.)—M. A. Macauliffe.

FRENCH.

Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes—Pierre Du Jarric, (Bordeaux 1608). It deals with the last five years of Akbar's reign and the first few years of that of Jahangir.

Les calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musalman. (Paris)—Huart.

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GERMAN.

Epochen der indischen Kultur (Epochs of Indian Culture). Hermann Goetz (1929).

ITALIAN.

Anali delle Islam—Caetani. The portion relating to Jizyah was translated for me by the late Sir Thomas Arnold.

JOURNALS.

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